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NOTES

ON

AFGHÁNISTÁN AND PART OF BALÚCHISTAN,

GEOGRAPHICAL, ETHNOGRAPHICAL, AND HISTORICAL,

EXTRACTED FROM THE WRITINGS OF LITTLE KNOWN AFGHÁN AND TÁJZÍK HISTORIANS, GEOGRAPHERS, AND GENEALOGISTS; THE HISTORIES OF THE GHÚRÍS, THE TURK SOVEREIGNS OF THE DIHLÍ KINGDOM, THE MUGHAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE HOUSE OF TÍMÚR, AND OTHER MUHAMMADAN CHRONICLES; AND FROM PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS.

K. 15

BY

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SECTION FIRST.

On the Baluch Tribes of the Derah-jat.

Before giving an account of the different darahs and passes in the Lower Derah-ját, leading into Balúchistán and Afghánistán from Multán, it will be well, perhaps, to say something about the Balúch tribes inhabiting the tracts on the west bank of the Indus within the Panjáb frontier, who have given names to the derah of Ismá'íl Khán, the derah of Fath Khán, and the derah of Ghazí Khán.

The Balúch people are mentioned very early in Muhammadan history. We read of them and the Bráhúís in that valuable and celebrated work, "Masálik wa Mamálik," and in the "Kitáb of Ibn-Haukal," under the names of Koch and Balúch. The terms "Koujes" and "Bouloujes," which we find in Ouseley's translation of the latter work, are mis-spellings. Scribes, in writing the letters ج – چ – and خ, are generally, and with rare exceptions, not at all particular in putting the proper diacritical points, and rarely make a distinction between the two first, even if they do not leave out the points altogether. Some again, instead of putting three points to چ, make a daub of them by writing the three without raising the reed from the paper, and make them seem like one point – ج –, and then inexperienced persons jump at the conclusion that the letter is *j* instead of *ch*. Hence we have such blunders as "Jinjis" and "Jinghis" for the name of the Chingiz Khán, and "Ujah," "Oujah," "Ootch," and "Outch," for Úchchah and Uchchah, and many other names.

The Koch and Balúch are referred to in the two works mentioned above as nomads, but the Afgháns commonly use the word *kochaey* to signify a nomad in their language, and the former word, in the old Persian, signifies much the same. They are said to inhabit a territory of Irán Zamín, bordering on Sind and Hind. The fact of the Koch being said to possess a language different from the Balúch, renders it probable that the Bráhúís are referred to under the name of Koch, and their language, certainly, is different from the Balúchkí. To enter into this subject further is not necessary here, but a short account of the tribes of the Balúch people who ruled in the tracts hereafter to be described, in the middle of the last century, and previous to the downfall of the Durrání monarchy, may not be out of place, as but little has been hitherto known respecting them.

The following is an extract from the "Sair-ul-Bilád," which will be referred to in another place :—

"The tracts of territory in which this Musalmán people are located is styled, from them, Balúchistán, and extends from the town of Pahár-púr, lying at the foot of the Salt Range, nearly 10 kuroh* north of the derah of Ismá'íl Khán, and included in the

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* The kuroh is the third part of a farsakh of 12,000 gaz, each kuroh consisting of 3,000 gaz of 32 angusht or fingers' breadth, or 4,000 gaz of 24 fingers' breadth, equal to six fists, or the hand with the fingers doubled up, each angusht being computed as equal in breadth to six barley corns laid side by side, and each barley corn as equal in breadth to six hairs from the mane of a Turkí horse or the tail of a camel. It varies, however, in different localities, and is, on the average, something less than two miles. In Hindústán, the Panjáb, and the Derah-ját, the kuroh is termed kos, in length 4,000 gaz, as above described. This is also called the gau kos, which means the distance at which the lowing of a cow can be heard at midnight on a calm night.

Some again compute it as equal to 1,000 paces of a woman with a child in her arms and a kúzah or earthen water pot (full of water) on her head. This, however, would be a very short kuroh indeed, even if a woman made strides of a yard at each footstep, instead of about from 24 to 26 inches. This must refer to what is termed in India the kachá kos, equal to half a kuroh or kos.

Mír Sháh Rizá, the late Bádsháh of Káshkár, told the author of the work above mentioned that he reckoned the kos of Hindústán at 1,000 paces of a man who is a good walker, but this kuroh refers more to the distances in his territory and in the parts adjacent, as will be mentioned in their proper place. This, however, is really only half a Dihlí kos, and just equal to the Persian míl.

From Atak to Pes'háwar, Jalál-ábád, and Kábul the term kuroh is used.

The Panjáb kos is rather less than that of Dihlí, it being about 3,600 gaz. In Afghánistán it is not usual to reckon by the kuroh, but by the manzil or stage, and the time occupied between chásht, the middle hour between sunrise and meridian, and the time of afternoon prayers and evening. These manzils are of three descriptions:—1. The manzil or stage of a kárwán, which is equal to a royal manzil, and not less than six or seven kuroh. 2. The manzil of a man on foot, which will be nearly 16 or 17 kuroh. 3. The manzil of a man on horseback, which will be 25 kuroh or rather more.

According to the "A'ín-i-Akbarí, in the time of Sher Sháh (otherwise Faríd, son of Hasan, of the Sheré Khel, of the sub-tribe of Súr, descended from Ismá'íl, son of Siání, son of Lúdí, the progenitor of that great division of the Afgháns), the standard kuroh was 60 jaríbs (see page 24), each of 60 gaz-i-Sikandarí or

Derah-ját, to the ocean, a distance of nearly 500 kuroh. This tract of country contains numerous *chúls*, waste land where no water is procurable for irrigation purposes, and much sandy desert, called in their idiom, *thals*.

"That portion of Balúchistán, or the country of the Balúchís, here more particularly referred to, extends from Pahár-púr to beyond Dájal, a distance of over 100 kuroh in length from north to south, and about 30 kuroh in width from east to west, as far as the mountain range of Mihtar Sulímán, also called the Koh-i-Siyah, or Black Range, the residence of the Afghán tribes of Shíráni, Bábar, Lúrní, Kákar, and others.

"These people, the Balúch, call this mountain tract west of the Derah-ját, Roh, and its Afghán people Rohilahs."

This last statement is not exactly correct; the term is applied much more extensively. Muhabbat Khán, an Afghán author and lexicographer, describes Roh as "the large tract of country belonging to, and inhabited by, the Afgháns, the eastern "boundary of which extends to Kashmír, and the western to the River Hírmand, a "distance of two-and-a-half months' journey; and on the north its boundary extends "to Káshkár, and its southern boundary to Balúchistán. It therefore lies between "Irán, Túrán, and Hind; and its people are termed Rohilahs."

The Hírmand was considered, in ancient times, the boundary between Ghúr and Zábulistán, and Sind and Hind; and in the maps contained in the "Masálik wa Mamálik," the Hírmand is called the "Rúd-i-Sind wa Hind," the River of Sind and Hind. When the Arabs invaded the countries east of Khurásán, Hindú sovereigns held sway up to the left or east bank of the Hírmand."

To return to the account of the Balúchís in the Sair-ul-Bilád.

"The tract of territory extending from Pahár-púr to below Dájal, above referred to, contains close upon 100,000 families,—about 500,000 people or more,—and, although each class among them is styled by a different name, to enumerate the whole of them would be tedious,* but they constitute four great tribes."

1. *The Marlání.*

"This is a great tribe of the Balúch, who, from ancient times, were the rulers of these parts. Their chief town was called Derah-i-Ghází Khán, that is, the place of residence† of Ghází Khán. The other derahs, giving name to the Derah-ját,—the plural form of the word,—are Derah-i-Ismá'íl, and Derah-i-Fath Khán."

Through ignorance on the part of the illiterate inhabitants, the *izáfat*, the sign of the genitive case in the Persian language, has, in course of time, been dropped, and now we hear them spoken of as "Derah Ghází Khán," "Derah Ismá'íl Khán, and "Derah Fath Khán," which terms are unquestionably incorrect, for, if we merely translate the names into Panjábí, we prove their incorrectness. We cannot say Ghází Khán Derah or Fath Khán Derah, but Ghází Khán *dá* Derah and Fath Khán *dá* Derah, etc. It is strange, but nevertheless true, that Europeans, and the English in particular, unacquainted with the vernacular, are sure to pick up the vulgar pronunciation of names of places, or to vitiate them according to their own sense of hearing. I submit, therefore, in order to remedy and avoid such lamentable errors that revenue surveyors and settlement officers should, at all times, obtain the names of places and districts written in the vernacular of such places. There is great need for the correction of names of places and districts in a new map of Afghánistán, as shall have to point out farther on, and the present seems a favourable time for carrying it out.

"The Derah of Ghází Khán, in former times, was a town of considerable size, but it has greatly declined, and is now a poor and mean place. It was founded by the late Nawwáb, Ghází Khán, Marlání, and, in his day, carried on an extensive trade with Irán, Túrán, and Hindústán. Its heat, in the hot season, is notorious; and

Sikandar's gaz. Its author also gives the standard as fixed in Akbar Bádsháh's reign. It is thus divided:— 100 tanáb, each of 50 gaz or 400 báns (a bamboo, literally), each of 12½ gaz, or altogether 5,000 gaz.

He also describes the Hindú equivalent of the kuroh, which is called kos, as follows:—8 barley corns divested of their skins (laid side by side) = 1 angusht; 24 angusht = 1 dast (literally, a hand); 4 dasts = 1 dand; 2,000 dands = 1 kos.

* The different tribes at present dwelling in the Lower Derah-ját, and in the mountains to the west, are mentioned in my account of the passes at page 7.

† The term derah among the Panjáb people, and in the Derah-ját in particular, is the common term for house or dwelling, and not necessarily a camp or tent, as erroneously supposed by some persons.

produces grapes, pomegranates, apples (very small though), mangoes, dates, and a good deal of grain, both rabí—spring harvest, and kharíf—autumn harvest, indigo, sugar-cane, and rice. Some of the land is irrigated by means of wells, but the people chiefly depend on river irrigation.

"The Marlání tribe used, at the period referred to, to hold sway over the whole country from Mangrothah and Layyá as far as Dájal and Sítpúr; but from the time that enmity and disagreement arose among themselves, Tímúr Sháh, Abdálí, the Durrání sovereign, took the reins of Government out of the hands of the descendants of Ghází Khán, Marlání, and made it over to Mírzá Khán, a Kazil-básh, while the subordinate governors of Mangrothah and Layyá conducted their transactions separately (with the Durrání Court).*

"Ghází Khán's family received about 50,000 rupees yearly by way of a pension, while Mírzá Khán, Kazil-básh, derived revenue from their territory to the extent of close upon 900,000 rupees.†

"The Nawwáb, Ghází Khán, cut a great canal, from the Sind river, at about 10 or 12 kuroh to the north of Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and brought it near to that town. This is called the Kastúrí Nahr or canal, and sometimes the Kathúrí Nahr. It is expended in cultivation about seven or eight kuroh to the southwards of the town; and hundreds of smaller cuts are taken from it, and produce a considerable revenue.

"Mírzá Khán, Kazil-básh, following the Nawwáb's good example, also cut a great canal from the Sind river, about 20 kuroh to the northwards of Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and divided it into two branches; the larger and longer branch, called the Mángá, he carried southwards towards Dájal, and the smaller one, the water of which becomes expended among the lands of the Darwesh villages, is called the Jasrá Canal. On account of the revenue which these canals produced, they called them Lakhí, or producing Lakhs. At the time of the rising of the Sind river, in the hot season, these canals cannot be crossed except by means of bridges or boats."

The Kastúrí and other canals are still in working order, and some have gone to decay, but numerous traces of them, and others of even older date, exist.

"Súrí is the name of a river (the Súrí darah and pass will be found mentioned farther on), which rises in the mountains to the west of the Derah-ját, and in the neighbourhood of Amdán (Amdání now), the cultivators make dykes and store the water of the river, and thereby irrigate a large tract of country from 10 to 12 kuroh in extent.‡

"When the Sind river rises, the country becomes flooded for miles on either side; and travellers from one derah to another have to proceed by way of Wahwá, but that route is exceedingly difficult. The road lies close to the mountains, and water is scarce there.

"The route from Derah-i-Ghází Khán to Kandahár by way of the Kohistán—highlands or mountains—and the nearest way, is well known. It is stated that, during the rule of Ghází Khán, a person set out in search of some of his stray cattle, and entered the mountains to the westward;§ and, by following up the cattle with as much haste as he could, he, in the space of three days, found himself at Kandahár."

2. *The Nutkání.*

"The Nutkání, sometimes called Mutkání, but vulgarly so, amount to about 7,000 or 8,000 families (at present they do not amount to more than a quarter of that number). They were subordinate to the Marlánís, the ruling tribe, but, when troubles arose among the Chiefs and principal men of the latter tribe, the Nutkánís submitted, and gave their allegiance to the ruler of Kábul, Tímúr Sháh, Abdálí, and agreed to pay 60,000 rupees as a cess to the Durrání Government.

"Their territory is called Sanghar, which is also the name of a river, which rises in the mountains to the west; and, in time of floods in the hills, rushes down into the plains by three or four channels or outlets. The people raise dykes to save the water, and thereby an extent of country about 18 kuroh long by 7 or 8 broad is irrigated.

* At this period the southern half of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah contained about 100,000 Balúch families, who held the sway over those tracts, and who were of another tribe of the Balúch race.

† A few years since, two of the descendants of the Nawwáb Ghází Khán, the Marlání, were living at the Derah of Ghází Khán in comparative penury.

‡ These dykes are still kept up.

§ He was on horseback of course.

"The chief town of the Nutkánís is Mangrothah, also called Mangothah. Masú Khán, the Sardár, or Chief of the tribe, built a fort of burnt brick, consisting of lofty walls and other buildings, on the west side of the town. He receives about one lakh of rupees yearly as the revenue of this place and its dependencies, while the town of Wahwá, a considerable place, also belonging to the Nutkánís, brings in a revenue of a lakh and a half of rupees to the Khánbefore mentioned.

"West of Wahwá lie the mountains of Afghánistán, out of which flows a river, the water of which never fails, and reaches as far as the town of Gharáng*. In time of flood, the waters pass beyond that place, and enter the Sind river above Derah-i-Fath Khán. The people of Wahwá have made numerous cuts from this river in all directions, and have brought the water to their lands, and also into the masjids, dwellings, and gardens, by means of a canal. This river they call the Kálá Pání (a term applied to many streams both in this part and elsewhere) and also the Gangá river. The people are chiefly Balúchís, but there are some Jats among them. The Majítah Afghans, and others, bring the commodities of the country to the westward to this place to sell, and take back with them piece goods, both white and coloured.

"The territory belonging to the Nutkání tribe, from the village of Makúl to Wahwá, is nearly 40 kuroh long, and, from the Sind river to the hills, 12 kuroh broad, but the water of the Sind does not reach this tract of country.

3. *The Kúláchí.*

"To this tribe, consisting of 3,000 or 4,000 families, belong the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl-Khán.† In former times, they too were the subjects and servants of the Marlánís. At the present time, Ghulám Muhammad Khán, Kúláchí, is subordinate to Mírzá Khán, Kazil-básh, and pays into the latter's treasury 12,000 rupees yearly for his lands. The territory belonging to the Kúláchí tribe is about 20 kuroh long, from north to south, and about 12 kuroh broad, from east to west. The cultivation depends chiefly upon the Kálá Pání, or Wahwá river, for irrigation, but some lands are irrigated from wells.

"The Chief resides in the fort of Gharáng, which is built of sun-burnt bricks. The houses of the town adjoin it on the east side, and under the fort, on the north side, lies the Kálá Pání river, here called the Gharáng Nadí, but its bed is dry, except after heavy rains. The Sind river lies about one kuroh to the east, over which there is an established ferry, and six or seven boats are always available. Travellers to Layyá and Multán cross the Sind here.

4. *The Hút.*

"This is a noble tribe of the Balúch, and consists of about 20,000 families, who dwell in the territory of Derah-i-Ismá'íl-Khán. Their portion of it extends from the village of Rang (Rang-púr) to Pahár-púr, a distance of 50 kuroh in length, and from the Sind river to Dámán, 12 kuroh in breadth. The cultivation is much the same as that of the district of Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and the water of the river Gumul‡ which issues from the mountain barrier to the west, is expended in the irrigation of the tract of country held by the Hút tribe.§ The lands also, which the waters of that river reach, are called Gumul.

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* "Gurang" is not correct, neither is "Grang."

† Pottinger makes a great error in naming this tribe, whom he styles "Kolatchees," Brahooeés. They are Balúchís, not Bráhúís.

‡ The Jzob river, also written Jzíob, joins the Gumul before piercing the Koh-i-Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah.

§ A number of the Hút tribe left their old country in Kichh and Mukrán about 874 H. (A.D. 1459), and emigrated to Upper Sind and Multán. This was the year in which Sultán Bahlúl, the Lúdí Afghán of the Pránkí division of the Yasín Khel, and the first of his race who sat on the throne of Dihlí, undertook an unsuccessful expedition against Multán, and had to retire.

Malik Suhráb, a Chief of the Dúdá'í clan of the Húts, left Mukrán, accompanied by his two sons, Ismá'í Khán and Fath Khán, his family and clan, and reached the Multán province, in which, at that time, Husai the Langáh, whom Tod turns into a "Solanki Rajpoot," ruled as an independent sovereign, having succeede his father, Ráe Sihrah, who had been ruler of Síwí, and who took the title of Kutb-ud-Dín, on usurping th sovereignty over Multán. The Hút Chief took service with Husain, the Langáh, and he was despatched, wit his clan, to Kot Kuhror, east of Multán, and there located, but, when other Balúchís followed him fro Mukrán, he was sent, along with them, to the west of the Sind river or Indus, to protect that part of th Langáh territory from the incursions of the Afghán mountaineers. At length, the whole of the district Derah-i-Ismá'íl-Khán, as at present constituted, was made over to him to manage, and assigned to him and h Balúchís in requital of their military services. Malik Suhráb's sons, Ismá'íl and Fath, gave name to th respective derahs so called.

"As this tribe resided, in times bygone, at the town of Makkalwádh,—the plain country immediately north of Sanghar, on the right bank of the Sind river, is so called,—their country is also called Makkalwádh.* It brings in a revenue of just five lakhs of rupees. The seat of government of this part, that is to say, Makkalwádh, is Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán, a considerable city, founded by Ismá'íl Khán of the Hút tribe; and the products of Sind and Hind, Irán, and Túrán, are disposed of here. The Sind river, the main stream, flows at the distance of about 3 kuroh from the city, but some channels of it at the distance of half a kuroh and more. South of this city, for a distance of from 6 to 8 kuroh, the land is incapable of cultivation.

"In the year that Tímúr Sháh, Abdálí, came into the Panjáb for the purpose of extirpating the Sikhs, and moved towards Multán, after having overthrown them, he came into the Derah-ját. Nusrat Khán, a descendant of Ismá'íl Khán, was seized by his command, placed in confinement, and taken away with him to Kábul, and the Government was assigned to Kamar-ud-Dín Khán, Kahochah, who farmed it for two and a half lakhs of rupees yearly."

The Derah of Ismá'íl Khán referred to by the writer was swept away by the Indus some years ago. The present Derah, so called, is therefore a modern town.

On the Passes and Routes Leading from Multán to Kandahár by the Lower Derah-ját.

The routes leading from Multán towards Kandahár, avoiding altogether the Bolán Pass, lie through the mountain tracts forming the western boundary of the Derah-ját, which is our western frontier, and the natural eastern boundary of Afghánistán.

This latter boundary consists of a mighty mountain barrier, containing two ranges, in some parts rising to the height of nearly 12,000 feet, including numerous singularly parallel ridges running almost due north and south. What I refer to here more particularly commence, on the north, from the Ghwalírí Pass, where the river Gumul pierces the two ranges, which begin from that point to run in such a regular manner, as adverted to above. These ranges here commence with two ridges, the western one being the higher. These ridges increase in number as they run southwards, especially those of the easternmost and less elevated range of mountains. A little to the south of the Ghwalírí Pass, and a little to the north of the Takht-i-Sulímán, or Sulímán's Throne, there are no less than seven distinct ridges, not including the highest ridge, in which is the Takht-i-Sulímán, three of which belong to the former, and the rest to the latter range of mountains. It is hereabout that the three rivers or mountain streams pierce these mountains, and form passes, which will be mentioned in another place.

These ridges continue, with variation in their number from four to ten, until, at the point where the Súrí river, forming the pass of that name, in the district of Derah-i-Ghází Khán, pierces the two chains, we have no less than twelve distinct ridges, like battalions (to use a military phrase) in column of companies at quarter distance, or a column of battalions, which increase in height from east to west to the highest range.

The westernmost ridges, which can be plainly distinguished from Multán, a distance of over eighty miles, on a clear day, and the highest of which is snow-capped in winter, are what is commonly known as the range of Mihtar Sulímán, from its highest peak, called the Takht-i-Sulímán, previously referred to, but styled by the Musalmán people of these parts the Koh-i-Siyah, and, by Hindús, Kálá Pahár, or Black Mountains, for such is the colour they assume, while the lower or easternmost range, by reason of their colour, a yellowish red, are styled the Koh-i-Surkh, and Rátá Pahár, but the latter name is not so common as the former, both to Musalmáns and Hindús.

On the western side of the Koh-i-Siyah the country assumes more of the nature of a table land, lying much higher, but other ranges of mountains intervene between the Derah-ját and Kandahár, and need not be referred to in detail here, which branch out from Spín-Ghar or Safed-Koh, but in the direction of south-west.

In Akbar Bádsháh's time, Dúdá'í, with a brick fort, was included among the mahálls or departments of the district called "Berún-i-Panj-nad"—Extra Panj-nad—belonging to the Súbah of Multán. It was then peopled by Dúdá'í Balúchís, who are said to have been rated as militia to the excessive number, apparently, of 4,000 horse and 30,000 foot.

There are many of the tribe of Hút to be found in Mukrán.

* Not "Mukelwad," nor "Mucklewad." In the most recent maps, this tract appears as "Kolache." The town of Kúláchí lies a little over 26 miles west of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán.

The highest peak of the next range west of the Koh-i-Siyah is called Kund by the Afgháns, on the southern slope of which range the river Jzob* rises, and which, flowing north-east, joins the Gumul just before it pierces the Koh-i-Siyah, on its way to join the Sind or Indus, which, however, it fails to meet, the whole of its water being drawn off for irrigation purposes.

On the western slope of the range in which the Jzob takes its rise the Lorá river issues, and flows towards the south-west through the valley of Pushang, anciently called Púshang, but incorrectly styled "Pisheen," and is subsequently lost in the thirsty soil. Other rivers, which need only be slightly alluded to here, rise on the western slopes of other ranges of mountains farther west, some of which fall into the Tarnak, and some are lost in the soil.

After passing the high range bounding the valley of the Jzob to the southward, we come to the extensive elevated plain or table land of Borah, described as exceedingly temperate, well watered, fertile, and carefully cultivated. It belongs, with still more extensive tracts of country, to the great Afghán tribe of Kákar, which name has been written in all sorts of incorrect ways by those who trusted to their ears, and did not know how it was written and pronounced in the original, such as "Caukers," "Cawkers," "Khokas," "Kukads," "Kakads," and the like ridiculous names, and even "Beluch Kowkars"!† The valleys between Borah and the mountains south of the Jzob, and the Koh-i-Siyah or Sulímán range, are held by the Músá Khel Kákars and Isot clan of the Parní tribe, who mostly follow the shepherd's life. The Borah plain is in one of the routes from Multán to Kandahár by the Sanghar and Wahwá passes. Other minor ranges succeed farther south of Borah, extending to the valley of Zawara'h,‡ and the extensive table land of Tal and Chotíálí§, inhabited by the Tor and Spín—Black and White—Tarín Afgháns. More to the south again the two ranges of Koh-i-Siyah and Koh-i-Surkh become much disturbed, as will be mentioned subsequently, and take a bend to the west as far as Dádhar. Between the two ranges, the highest of which forms the northern boundary of Balúchistán towards the east, lies Káhan, to the south of which, by the Nafusk Pass, lies the route by Sháh-púr to Shikár-púr and Sakhar.

The southernmost tribe in the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán are the Ushtaránís,|| the descendants of the son of a celebrated Sayyid named Muhammad-i-Gísú-Daráz, or Muhammad of the Long Locks, who married a wife out of the tribe of Shíráni, and, like some other Sayyids, settled among them. He had three other wives—one a Shíráni, and two of other tribes—from whom are descended the tribes of Honaey, Wardag, and Mashwární. The Ushtaránís are therefore of Sayyid descent on the father's side, but have been erroneously supposed, by some native authors unacquainted with their pedigree, to belong to the great tribe of Núhání, who, through substituting *l* for *n*, which is done by some Afghán tribes, are often styled Lúhánís and Lúhárnís (with the peculiar Pus'hto rún=*rn*), and, being nomads, come, along with some other tribes, under the name of Powandah¶.

Muhammad-i-Gísú Daráz was a native of Ush, near Baghdád, and this accounts apparently for his son's name, which was not given because his descendants were "camel-drivers," as some erroneously suppose. The Pus'hto term for a camel is úk'h and ús'h, with the peculiar Afghán ښ and not with 'Arabic ش with which the name of the tribe is written.

They occupy lands both in and out of the hills, in the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán, immediately north of the sub-district of Sanghar, but they are only a portion of the tribe of that name, which dwell farther to the west. This portion of them, on account of a feud with some of the Kákar clans, through whose country they had to pass with their flocks and herds in the hot season, in going to their kishlák or summer station, sold their flocks and herds, and took to farming many years ago. Their chief

* It is also written jzíob ; both ways are correct.

† In one of the official routes of the Quartermaster-General's Department.

‡ Zawara'h, in Pus'hto, the feminine form of Zor, is an adjective signifying low, depressed, slanting, sloping, etc.

§ Some Afghán tribes use *ts* for *ch*, and *vice versá*, and consequently the name of this district and place is also written Tsotíálí.

|| Turned into "Oosteranees" in a local report.

¶ A recent traveller, who chanced to proceed on a journey into a part of Afghánistán and make a short stay there, during which he and his companions were prisoners all but in name for greater part of the time, came back laden with Afghán lore, or at least it was thought so (and many may believe so still), and among his discoveries he found out a tribe, apparently, called "Provindiah" Afgháns, but he evidently did not know the Persian and Pus'hto. There is no tribe of "Provindiah" nor "Povindiah." See under پوندہ and کوچي in my "Pus'hto Dictionary," new edition of 1867, pp. 1106 and 1153.

villages are Urmúk, Mangul, Samozí, and Kúey Bahárah, all of which are in the plains east of the mountains, and another, of the same name as the last, is in the mountains. I merely refer to the Ushtaránís here as being the most southern tribe in the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán near the mountains.

West of them are the Z'marís, and beyond them again the Isot Parnís,* both Afghán tribes. The latter are generally, but erroneously, supposed to be Kákars, one of the three most numerous tribes of the Afgháns, who occupy an extensive tract of country, chiefly table land, more than 180 miles in length, running N.E. and S.W., and about 100 miles in breadth. The Shíránís, another very powerful tribe of Afgháns, who dwell about the Takht or Throne of Mihtar Sulímán, one of the earliest seats of the Afgháns, bound the Kákars to the north.

I now come to the different passes.

The Kaurah pass, 5½ miles north of the Wahwá pass, formed by the bed of the river which gives name to the darah, separates the two districts of Derah-i-Ismá'íl, and Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and the Ushtaránís from the Kihtráns. It is, however, included in the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán. I shall have to notice the passes and routes through the two ranges of the Koh-i-Siyah and Koh-i-Surkh, belonging to the last-named district, when I come to the routes taken by Bábar Bádsháh and others.

It may be well to remark here that a darah or darrah, both modes of spelling being correct, signifies an opening, more or less broad, between two mountains, or ranges of mountains, through which a stream generally flows, and through which opening, in the river's bed, or at its side, a way lies. Or a darah may be well compared to a leaf, the river and its feeders being its skeleton.

A small portion of the Afghán clan of Kihtrán† occupy the lands at the foot of the mountains immediately south of the Ushtaránís, and have charge of the passes of Wahwá, erroneously styled Vehowah, Hájá, and Litárah. The large village of Wahwá, lying close to the hill skirts, is their chief place. A river called the Gang, Gangá, Kálá Pání, and Gharáng Nadí, and also the Wahwá river, which rises in the table land west of the Koh-i-Siyah, runs through the mountains, and forms the pass. The water from this river never fails, but, after heavy rains in the hills, it overflows, and sometimes causes great destruction to cultivation and dwellings.

The highest ridge of the Koh-i-Surkh running north and south, through which the Wahwá river cuts its way, is called, hereabouts, the Nílgah ridge, and the next ridge,

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* The Isots are an offshoot of the great tribe of Parní (*vul.* "Punnee"), which formerly held great part of Síwí or Síwistán.

The Parní tribe have almost disappeared from their old seats, and are to be found settled in considerable numbers in Southern India and other parts of the peninsula. They have from time to time made a considerable figure in Indian history. Just prior to the downfall of the house of Bábar, one of the celebrated free-lances of that period, Dá'úd Khán, was a Parní. He was remarkable for his generosity and liberality. It became a proverb at last; and a man who engaged in any affair of a doubtful nature flattered himself that, if he did not succeed, and the worst came to the worst, he could at least have recourse to Dá'úd Khán. The proverb is,

"Agar banne to banne; nahín to Dá'úd Khán, Paní,"

which may be rendered,

"If it answers, well and good; if not, there is (still) Dá'úd Khán, Paní, to go to."

Persons unable to pronounce the peculiar Pus'hto *rn*, pronounce Parní as above.

Elphinstone, whose account of the Afghán tribes is generally so correct, has made the terrible error of turning the Parnís into a Kákar clan. He says, Vol. II., p. 198, "it will be proper to mention *the Cauker clan* of Punnee," but Parnís are not Kákars, they were only their neighbours. Kákar, Nághar, Dáwí, and Parní were the four sons of Dání, son of Ghúrghusht, and the progenitors of the tribes of those names. Kákar had no less than 24 sons, including six adopted, who were the progenitors of as many tribes, and many sub-tribes have descended from some of them. Parní, on the other hand, had 18 sons, giving name to as many tribes, from some of which sprung other sub-tribes, and from them again other clans. They dwelt about Mandáhí, and there some of them still dwell. I shall give a detailed account of all the Afghán tribes in my History of them.

As early as Akbar's time the Parnís, who had become exceedingly numerous, had apparently begun to emigrate, and we find some of them, the Sáfí clan, located in Panjhír. Here is another example showing how travellers write names of places, and upon which, to them unknown, blunders they found their theories. The word is written "Punchshír or Panjshír" and supposed by one author to mean "five lions." In Persian *sher* signifies a lion, but *shír* means milk. Another writer and traveller says, "Punjshir is supposed to have reference to the tradition concerning the five sons of Pandu, an ancient monarch of fabulous renown."

Panjhír is an ancient place, and is mentioned in the "Masálik wa Mamálik," which was written before the year 1000 A.D., as containing about 10,000 inhabitants. The Sáfí Afgháns are still very numerous on the banks of the river of Kábul and parts adjacent. In the "A'ín-i-Akbarí" they are said to have had to furnish no less than 35,000 foot to the militia, but this must be an error. I think we may read 300 horse and 5,000 foot instead.

† I shall refer to the Kihtráns again farther on.

to the east of the preceding, is called the Bhaghah. There is a lofty peak of the Koh-i-Siyah, to the west of these, rising to the height of nearly 7,700 feet. It is called the Tirih Peak.

Lower down, another river, rising beyond the Koh-i-Siyah, the Barkúe, cuts its way through that range south of the peak, flows northward between the Koh-i-Siyah and the Koh-i-Surkh, and, on the west side of the Bhaghah ridge, joins the Wahwá river. The darah and pass is also called Barkúe.

The Kihtráns are the last of the Afgháns in the Derah-ját, all the rest being Balúchís, but the Afgháns, including the main portion of the Kihtrán clan, farther south, are located all along the western side of the Koh-i-Siyah or Black Range until it bends to the west.

A little farther to the south of the Wahwá darah and pass, about four or five miles, is the small darah and pass of Liríah, so called after a stream which rises in the Koh-i-Surkh and flows through it. It is also held by the Kihtráns.

The next two darahs and passes to the south, the Bhatí and Khánwah darahs, are held by the Khasrání Balúchís. The first-named darah lies about six miles south of the Liríah darah, and is not very important. The chief place, called after the clan, lies some 18 miles up the darah. There is a small river running through it, the banks of which are shaded with trees. A force from the Panjáb irregular troops entered this pass just before the commencement of the hot season of 1853, marched into the valley, and chastised this turbulent and thievish clan, but the success gained over them was not very marked or decisive.

Four and a half miles farther south is the Khánwah (the *n* is nasal) darah and pass, but it does not extend much beyond the Koh-i-Surkh, or first range, and is of no great importance. It contains good water. Some of the Khasránís dwell close up to the slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, and a few graze their flocks on parts of its western face.

The country of the Isot clan of Parní commences some few miles from the Khasrání bounds, on the western slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, towards the north and north-east, and the 'Isá Khel of the Kákar tribe dwell contiguous to them on the south-west. South, the Khasránís are bounded by the Bozdárs, and on the east, in the plains, by the Nutkánís, previously referred to, as having been, in former years, a numerous and powerful tribe.

Next comes the Sanghar darah and pass, which may be said to be the most important in the whole of the Southern or Lower Derah-ját. It is broad and large, practicable for man and beast. It is, in fact, the high and direct road from Multán, and the parts adjacent, to Kandahár, by Chotíálí, Dogh, and Tal, and to Ghaznín and Kábul by Borah. In former years these routes used to be frequented by traders from Kandahár, Ghaznín, and Kábul, who paid a transit duty at the rate of about three rupees for each laden camel.*

It is held by the Bozdár Balúch clan, who dwell entirely within the hills, are tolerably powerful in point of numbers, and very turbulent, or at least have been; probably their latest chastisement, in 1857, may have worked good in them. They were then pursued by a body of troops up the Sanghar pass as far as Tunk, an opening between the ranges of the Koh-i-Siyah and Koh-i-Surkh, and about 12 miles north of the Sanghar pass proper, that is to say, the southernmost of the three, the Lúndí and Drúg, which have now to be mentioned, being the other two.

The Sanghar river, giving name to the darah and pass, rises beyond the Koh-i-Siyah, or Black Range, in Afghánistán, in the country of the Kákars, near the northern boundary of the Kihtrán territory. Two other rivers, its feeders, also rise in the Koh-i-Siyah—the Drúg and Lúndí—in the darahs of which there are likewise passes, which, whe est of tKoh-i-Siyah, converge on the routes by Chotíálí and Borah.†

The Drúg river pierces the Koh-i-Siyah 26 miles north of the point at which the Sanghar river cuts through it. It receives several smaller tributaries, and joins the Sanghar river and pass about 10 miles from the eastern skirt of the hills and entrance to the pass from the Derah-ját side.

The Lúndí river flows about 12 miles farther south, and south of the peak of that name rising to the height of about 8,000 feet, and joins the Sanghar river six miles

* As late as Díwán Sáwan Mal's time, a number of Afghán traders used to come this way, and returned with goods of Indian and European manufacture, but the lawless conduct of the Bozdárs, and their immediate neighbours on the west, has long since put a stop to the traffic.

† Some one probably heard Afgháns talking about this part, in doing which they had to use the name in an inflected form, and called it Borey, the *h* would be changed into *ey*, and hence this place and tract of country have been incorrectly called "Bori" and "Boree" for Borey, the inflected form, whereas Borah is correct. It is a walled town of considerable size.

higher up the Sanghar darah. It receives a feeder from the right hand about two miles above this point.

The united rivers furnish an unfailing supply of good water, which is saved for irrigation purposes by means of dykes, and fertilizes a large tract of country. The Drúg river is the boundary between the Khasránís and Bozdárs.

A sub-division of the Bozdár clan, the Gulámání Bozdárs, occupy some of the highest slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, both on the eastern and also on the western side, adjoining the Afghán country, but they are few in number. The Sihárni and Súwární sub-divisions of the Bozdárs cultivate lands along the banks of the Sanghar river, on the east side of the Black Range. This last-mentioned range is generally uninhabited.

Forage is abundant along the whole route. It occupies a caravan of traders about three hours, from the time of entering the last defile through the Black Range, to overcome all its difficulties, and emerge on the western slope. Beyond again hills begin to rise, at a distance of about 14 miles farther to the west, but they are comparatively low, and the difficulties of the road are by no means great. About 10 or 12 miles still farther west again, and just 25 miles from the ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, and running almost parallel to it, are hills still loftier. These bound the Kihtrán country on the west. Beyond them lie the districts of Chotíálí and Borah, which are separated from each other by another ridge of hills running almost due west towards a still higher range of mountains, which it joins, and which, with several breaks in the chain, runs down in a south-westerly direction from Spín Ghár to Dádhar. The lower portion of this latter range is called the Jzobah mountains, in which is the Jzobah* (not "Joba") peak, and on their eastern slopes the River Jzob rises. North of the ridge above mentioned, running due west to the Jzobah mountains, is the district of Borah, and south is Chotíálí.

Immediately adjoining the Bozdárs, west of the highest range, are the Lúrnís, a sub-tribe of the great tribe of Míánah, of the Sharkhabún division, while the Ja'fir Afgháns, a small and weak sub-tribe also of the Míánahs, adjoin the Bozdárs to the north of the Lúrnís.† Their chief village is Dágh. The Bozdárs are bounded on the east, in the plains, by the Nutkánís, already mentioned as having been, not very long ago, the ruling tribe; on the south, in the hills, by the Lagháris, and, in the plains, by the Lúnds.

Díwán Sáwan Mal sent a force against them during the time he ruled over the Multán province, which included the Lower Derah-ját, and they defeated it. The Díwán then determined to move against them in person. He made a forced march one night from Derah-i-Ghází Khán to Amdání, a distance of about 30 miles, and, having halted for a few hours, instead of entering the Sanghar pass, moved to the west, entered the Mahúey pass, up which he proceeded for a few miles, then turned north, and, passing between one of the parallel ridges, so remarkable in the Koh-i-Surkh in particular, which passages are called "thoks" by the Balúchís, came suddenly upon the Bozdárs, who were completely surprised. He remained in their country for three days, during which time he burnt several of their villages, and committed great devastation. He, however, neglected to secure his withdrawal, and the Bozdárs and their allies, the Khasránís, succeeded in occupying the defiles by which his force had to retire; and, in that narrow defile in the Sanghar pass known as the Khán-Band Tangí, or defile, commencing at the point where the Drúg river joins the combined Sanghar and Lúndí, a few miles from its entrance, he was attacked, and his force had to retreat with considerable loss, leaving their booty and effects in the hands of the Bozdárs and their allies, and fled, in great disorder, through the Sanghar pass.

When a body of troops from the Panjáb irregular force, previously alluded to, marched to chastise the same tribe in March, 1857, it moved from Tonsá, entered the Sanghar pass, and encamped at a distance of about five miles from its entrance, at a small village called Dachí kí Kachchhí,‡ and, on making a *reconnaissance* in front, found the Khán-Band Tangí occupied. On the following morning early, the troops

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* Which is also written Jzíobah.

† There are a number of Afghán tribes and clans hereabouts, in this south-western portion of Afghánistán, of whom people generally know little or nothing, because we have come less into contact with them than any others; and as the Kákars are the most numerous tribe in this direction, and their name best known, any smaller tribe, about whose descent nothing is known, is, at once, set down as a "Khakad," or a "Kowker Baloch." There is a clan of the Parnís called Khajzak, and the pass of that name is called after them. They were descended from Khajzak, son of Parní, and located in that part. Under the name of "Kujjukzyes," they also have been turned into "Kakurs."

‡ Kachchhí signifies low-lying ground capable of cultivation, near a hill stream.

advanced, and, on approaching the defile, the heights were crowned on either flank, and the Bozdárs, numbering nearly 2,000 men, were, after two hours' resistance, forced back, with some loss on either side, and, at length, they abandoned their strong position. By midday the defile was forced, and the troops encamped in the open tract to the westward of it, near a place called Haran-Kot, or Harand-Kot, but which, in the Indian Atlas map, appears as "Hurunbore," and near the point where the Lúndí joins the Sanghar river. Here the country is open as far west as the ridge lying next the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, or Black Range. After this the troops marched up the valley of the Sanghar river, without any opposition from, or signs of, the Bozdárs, as far as Bhartí, where the Bozdárs had considerable cultivation. Parties were sent out from their camp to destroy the villages and crops; and, after remaining two days, the force marched up the thok or valley of the small river Daulí-wálah, which, rising between the highest ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah and the first parallel ridge from it, on the eastern side, flows from north to south for about six miles, and falls into the Sanghar river. This second ridge is called Bhaghah by the Bozdárs, and the thok leads up to the point where the Lúndí river pierces the second ridge in question, a distance altogether of just 12 miles, after which the Lúndí flows westward through the open country previously noticed, and joins the Sanghar near Harand-Kot. After this the Bozdárs made their submission, and the force returned by the same route as it had come, and the expedition ended, which, from the 6th of March, when the force entered the Sanghar pass, to the 23rd, when it again emerged from it, occupied 18 days.

The next darah south of that of Sanghar is Mahúey, so called after a small river which rises in the Koh-i-Surkh or Red Range, about 12 miles to the southward of Harand-Kot of the Bozdárs. The darah leads into that of Sanghar by one of the thoks or openings between the parallel ridges of the mountains, and is practicable for laden camels and other beasts of burden. Here too forage is plentiful, and the water is good and never failing, but, about eight miles from its source, the water becomes bitter, and is only fit for irrigation purposes. There are, however, some wells of good water near the entrance to the pass, which is also held by the Bozdárs.

The next darah, nine miles to the south, is called the Shorí darah and pass. The river of that name rises on the eastern slope of one of the parallel ridges of the Koh-i-Siyah or Black Range, at about 20 miles, as the crow flies, from the mouth of the pass on the east. It winds its way among the long parallel ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh or Red Mountains, which here are five in number, and remarkably regular. The darah contains an unfailing supply of good water up to nearly its entrance into the plains of the Derah-ját, and forage is also plentiful.

The Lúnd clan of Balúchís are located in the plains immediately east of these two passes, but the country between the plains and the Black Range is, with the exception of that between the range just named and the Red Range, wholly uninhabited. Between the two ranges, but widely dispersed, the Jalálání Bozdárs dwell in a few small villages or kotlahs, and cultivate their kachchhís, down almost as far as the Widor darah, the boundary between the Bozdárs and the Laghárís. To their west again, beyond the Black Range, the Lúrní Miánahs dwell—not the "Kuteerans," as the Kihtráns are styled by some of the local authorities—in walled villages.

The darahs of Mahúey and Shorí are of no great importance. They lead one into the other through the thoks in the Koh-i-Surkh, and the first-named into the Sanghar darah, but access to them is difficult, and only practicable to men on foot. They were wont to be used by the Bozdárs in their raids into the district of Derah-i-Gház Khán.

As we proceed south we reach the lands of the Khosah Balúchís, a tolerabl powerful clan, and acknowledged to be the bravest among them, but they are divide among themselves by feuds and quarrels. Like all other border tribes, whethe Afghán or Balúch, they are addicted—or, at least, used to be—to harrying thei neighbours when opportunity offers. They hold a cluster of small darahs, but ther are none of them of much importance, and few extend farther than the Koh-i-Surk and only lead into the larger darahs of the Bozdárs already noticed. The former a the darahs of Matí Kalerí, Súrí (this darah is much longer than the others, the rive rising in the Koh-i-Surkh, contains a never-failing supply of good water to near t mouth of the pass), Rehkarn, Ghází, Satá'í, Behlab, Kahbí, Ghámán, Sufaidú, Kár Súr, and Ráey, each of which contains a small stream or a spring, but the strea of the greater number are either dry throughout the hot seasons, or are expended irrigation before reaching the mouths of the darahs. The stream in the Kárú dar is bitter, and impregnated with sulphur or some other mineral. These darahs a

inhabited by a few Khosahs towards the lower or eastern parts, but all the intervening space, to the skirt of the Black Range, a distance of about 20 miles, is totally uninhabited, except by a few Bozdárs, near the highest range, as before mentioned. The Súrí darah communicates with those of Shorí and Mahúey, which lead into the Sanghar darah, and there are mountain paths leading to and fro to the others, but they are difficult to thread, even for men on foot. Forage is plentiful in most places. The majority of the Khosah clan dwell in the plains of the Derah-ját.

Next in rotation is the Widor darah and pass. The river of that name, incorrectly called the "Nuddore Nullah" in the Indian Atlas Map, which runs through it, rises on the eastern slope of the highest part of the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, under the prominent peak of Súronk or Súrong, which rises to the height of nearly 8,000 feet. The river receives two feeders of some importance, rising in the same range farther to the south, and some others of lesser consequence from the Koh-i-Surkh, lower down.

The Widor river is the boundary between the Bozdárs and the Lagháris, presently to be noticed, and the Laghárí village of Widor lies six miles east of the entrance to the pass, which, however, lies within the bounds of the village of Belah. A small section of the Khosahs, to the number of less than one hundred persons, cultivate the lands, and dwell near the entrance of the pass, but the Lagháris, who live a nomadic life, dwell above them, to the west, up to the Koh-i-Siyah.

The water of the Widor river is good and unfailing up to the mouth of the pass, when it becomes expended for purposes of irrigation, but there are also springs of good water. Forage can be obtained in plenty.

The Dalánah darah and pass comes next in rotation, near the entrance to which is the Khosah village of that name, as well as the villages of Zai and Sab-kúah, not "Sooktoba." Water is obtained from wells, or rather pits, dug in the bed of the river, the water of which never reaches the Derah-ját, except after heavy floods of rain in the mountains. There are a few date trees in this darah, which are looked upon as rarities, although plenty are to be found in the Derah-ját itself.

It is about 21 miles from Dalánah village to the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, and a route through the darah, which is very difficult, about two thirds of the way thither, falls into the route through the darah of Widor. The route through this darah is practicable for beasts of burden as far as the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, but the defile in it, which leads into the Kihtrán country, is so narrow that a laden animal can scarcely pass. A little engineering would, no doubt, soon render it practicable.

There are numerous shísham trees (*Dalbergia sisu*) near the hamlet of Hadíání, called after the nomad section of the Laghárí tribe.

Parallel to the Dalánah darah, beyond the Koh-i-Siyah, dwell the Kihtrán Afgháns, with whom the Khosahs are on good terms. They occupy a considerable tract of country, and are seldom seen in the district of Derah-i-Ghází Khán. The people of the same name and blood, dwelling in the northern part of the district, are now quite separated and distinct from them.

South of the Khosahs are the Lagháris, another powerful Balúch tribe, as far as numbers are concerned, who dwell partly in the mountains and partly in the Derah-ját.* Widor, Chhotí-i-Bálá (Higher Chhotí), Chhotí-i-Pá'ín (Lower Chhotí), and Sakhí Sarwar, the proper name of which is Nigáhah. Sakhí Sarwar, signifying Sakhí the Saint or spiritual guide, is applied to it because the shrine of this reputed saint lies close by it, on a spur of the hills.

The Lagháris hold the Sakhí Sarwar, and Chhotí darahs and passes, but Widor, their chief village, is about six miles from the entrance to the Widor pass.

The remarkable formation of the two ranges—the Koh-i-Siyah and Koh-i-Surkh—from this point becomes much changed and disturbed. The numerous parallel ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh, which run in the shape of gigantic waves on a sandy beach, or lines of infantry in columns, become broken, and much less in breadth, and, in their place, a series of elevated plateaux or swells, covered with pebbles, intervene between the now single ridge bounding the Derah-ját on the east.

The main ridge of the Koh-i-Surkh again appears some miles farther south, and, still lower down, several others, while a large parallel ridge, of considerable elevation, and some 10 or 12 miles in length, is thrown forward a few miles into the plains in front of Lower Chhotí, distant about 10 miles. Swells of the same description (consisting of stones and pebbles, and a peculiar yellowish red clay,† which, for its

* This is the tribe which abducted a live Deputy Commissioner from the district, and carried him off to the hills, where they detained him as a hostage for some days.

† This same colour is seen in the same range at the Nafusk and Sartáf passes farther west.

hardness, might be almost taken for stone), as already mentioned, but less in elevation, to the north of this ridge, are thrown out for nearly 12 miles into the plains towards the Sind or Indus. These disturbances occur again some 12 miles to the south-east of this ridge, and then the hills gradually disappear.

South of the Widor pass seven miles is the Sakhí Sarwar pass, so called after the Muhammadan Pír or saint above mentioned. He was a Sayyid, that is to say, a descendant from 'Ali and the daughter of Muhammad; hence he is also styled Sultán, a title like Sháh applied to Sayyids, not that he was the possessor of sovereign power, a conclusion by some rashly arrived at.* Sultán Sakhí, the Sarwar, or spiritual guide, was named Ahmad. He was the son of Sayyid Zain-ul-'Abidain, and was born at Sháh-Kot,† about 650 H., and died about 690 H.—A.D., 1291. His tomb is situated on a spur of the Koh-i-Surkh, jutting out into the plains of the Derah-ját. Below it, to the north, is the bed of a mountain torrent rising in the same range, but it is always dry except after heavy falls of rain in the mountains. The dwellings which, in course of time, have sprung up around the tomb, form a considerable town, the number of inhabitants being about 2,500 souls, including 1,650 who are attendants at the saint's shrine, among whom are a great number of the Jat tribe of Khokhar, which, once very numerous and powerful, made a great figure in the Panjáb territories, and held possession of the province of Láhor. They have often been, and are still, confounded with and mistaken for the Ghakhars, between whom and them no connection ever existed, and who are a totally different people.

The place is supplied with water from a tank or reservoir, built about two centuries since, and by water, more or less black in colour and fetid in smell, from wells, as the pits or holes dug in the bed of the river, a few miles west of the town, are termed; but water, whatever its quality, is deficient in quantity here.

For an account of the town and shrine of Sakhí Sarwar, and its annual *melá* or fair, see my paper in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1855.

The route by the Sakhí Sarwar pass, which, beyond the Koh-i-Siyah, joins the Sanghar route, already described, is one of the routes to Kandahár by Chotiálí, Tal, and Pushang, and, among other things brought down from Kandahár and Kwatah by Pushang and the Sakhí Sarwar, Sanghar, and Harand passes into the Derah-ját by the caravans of traders, were very fine oxen for the Sikh artillery. In the reign of Akbar Bádsháh couriers are said to have been in the constant habit of reaching Multán from Kandahár, by this route, in six days, and mangoes used to be conveyed to that city from Multán in the same period of time. On one occasion Mukarrab Khán, a member of the Sadozí or royal tribe of the Afgháns, reached Kandahár from Multán, on a riding camel, very easily in eight days.

The defile begins about four miles west of the town of Sakhí Sarwar, where there occurs a considerable descent into the valley of the Sirí river, which runs through a tolerably well wooded plateau lying at the eastern base of the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, and the first stage to Sirí, a now ruined kotlah or walled village of the Khosahs, is reached after a march of about 13 miles. The bed of the Mitháwan, another stream, joins that of the Sirí from the north-west, in both of which the water is good, but fails soon after they reach the Koh-i-Surkh, and before their beds unite, consequently these rivers cannot strictly be said to join their streams, except after heavy rains in the mountains.

The road or path then ascends gradually for nearly five miles to a break in the Koh-i-Siyah, in a zigzag direction, when a plateau is reached, which extends for about another five miles, and then the road again descends for some distance to the west, down the slopes of the range to Rukní‡, in the Kihtrán country. Here the routes by Sanghar and the other passes join, and from this halting place the next stage is Durázú-Kot, the residence of the Kihtrán Chief, distant just 17 miles.

I was told by Jamál Khán, the Laghárí Chief, in April 1853, when at Sakhí Sarwar, that, at the distance of a day's journey, through rather a difficult country, he possessed a tract of table land of some extent, well wooded, and containing a fine sheet of water; and that he usually retired thither with his family in the hot season, and greatly extolled its beauty and salubrity. This is evidently the tract of land on the Sirí river just referred to.

Farther south are three other streams containing good water, which, in time of floods, join the Mitháwan, but, on other occasions, their waters are lost in the Koh-i-

* A most amusing specimen of such an error may be found in my "Account of Suwát," in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1862, page 19.

† In the parganah of Multán, near Kotlah Najábat, about 14 miles south of the city.

‡ This name is doubtful; I think it should be Barkhar or Barkhan.

Surkh, the intervening space between which, from the easternmost point of that range to the higher (and only ridge here) of the Koh-i-Siyah, does not exceed 10 or 11 miles.

Two miles farther south we come to the Kúrah darah and river, which forms the boundary between the Lagháris and their southern neighbours, the Gúrchánís. The river, or rather two small streams rising on the eastern slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, after running apart for about six miles, unite and form the Kúrah, soon after which the water fails.

Before passing into the Gúrchání boundary it will be well to give some account of the Kihtrán Afgháns.

All sorts of mistakes have been made respecting this powerful and not very quarrelsome clan, and in various official reports they have been turned into "Balochees," like their Afghán brothers, the so-called "Khakads," "Khakas," and "Kowkers." Kihtrán was one of the two sons of Shkúrn, son of Miánah, therefore the Kihtráns are a sub-tribe of the Miánahs, and, consequently, belong to the Sharkhabún division of the Afghán people. They occupy a strip of territory conformable with the bend of the Koh-i-Siyah towards the Indus, about 30 miles in width, and about 60 from north-east to south-west, commencing from the parallel of the Súrí darah and pass of the Lunds to the frontier of the Marí territory, and which forms the most southern boundary of the Afghán tribes on the south-east. The Koh-i-Siyah, which afterwards runs westwards towards Dádhar, constitutes the southern boundary of Síwístán. The Kihtráns are consequently bounded on the north by the Músá Khel clan of the Kákars, on the west side of the Koh-i-Siyah, and by the Bozdárs on the east side, south by the Marís, east by the Lagháris and Gúrchánís, in succession from north to south, and west by the Lúrní Miánahs, Parnís, Kákars, and others, in succession from north to south. There would be some difficulty to find any "Jadran range" separating the "Kuteerans," as they have been styled in a local report,* "from the Candahar plain," because the range does not lie in this direction, and also because several ranges of mountains, many tracts of country, and several Afghán tribes, intervene between them and the "Candahar plain," which is small in point of area, and lies more than 250 miles, as the crow flies, from the western limits of the Kihtrán country.

The Koh-i-Siyah here averages about nine miles in breadth from east to west, including the highest ridge, which is from one and a half to three or four miles in width, out of which the highest peaks shoot up. The western slopes are included in the Kihtrán country; and, as on the eastern side, there is plenty of land capable of cultivation on these slopes, watered by numerous small streams, which the Kihtráns take due advantage of. They are skilful cultivators, and raise immense quantities of grain, which the Balúch tribes, the Lúrnís, and Kákars, near them, are glad to purchase from them. There would be no deficiency in the matter of supplies for an army marching through their country. They carry on a brisk trade in cattle with the district of Derah-i-Gházi Khán, and bring down bullocks, camels, sheep, and goats. The Sakhí Sarwar or Nigáhah pass is the route they chiefly take.

The Kihtráns are on friendly terms with the Khosahs, with whom the Chief is connected by marriage, and with the Lagháris, their nearest neighbours to the east, but are at feud with the Bozdárs and Marís, and the Lúrní Afgháns. Such of the Kihtráns as I have seen, and they were not very commonly met with at Derah-i-Gházi Khán, were square built, sturdy men, of middle height, with reddish hair and beards, and fresh-looking, healthy countenances, and often with grey eyes, and as different in appearance from the Balúchís of this part as day from night.

After this digression I come to the Gúrchánís and their *locale*. Their chief villages are Lál-garh, Chútú, Thal-i-Wazír, and Pitáfí. They hold several minor darahs, commencing from that of Chhotí of the Lagháris, as far south as the important darah and pass of Cháchar.

About six miles south of the Kúrah darah, already referred to as separating the Laghárí country from that of the Gúrchánís, and passing by the dry beds of two mountain torrents, is the darah of Khasúrah, so called from the river of that name. It contains a never-failing stream of good water, rising on the eastern slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, at the foot of a mountain of that range, called the Jingár mountain. North of it, about two miles distant respectively, are two other small rivers, also rising on the eastern slopes of the same range, which contain, for some miles, a constant

* In the official "Report of the Candahar Mission" of 1857 they are styled "Kathryans," and "Kathryan Beloochees."

supply of water, called the Kúmbír and the Gúrandání, and another, about the same distance south, called the Kálah Khasúrah—between which, and about three miles from the entrance to those darahs, lies the hamlet of Mauz-garh—also containing a good supply of water, but they too are lost in the Koh-i-Surkh.

Káfilahs of traders used to come from the Kihtrán country by the valley of the Khasúrah river, through a break in the higher range, called the Gúrandání mountain, giving name to one of the small streams just referred to, but the route has been abandoned for some time past.

I have already mentioned that south of Sakhí Sarwar the two ranges become considerably disturbed, and the Koh-i-Surkh vastly changed. At this point, however, the latter range begins to assume the form of parallel ridges again, but less in length, generally, and greater in number, and this continues as far southward as the Zangí darah, when other great changes take place. The Koh-i-Siyah, which ran in one great ridge from the parallel of the Widor darah, now becomes heaped together, and we have no less than five, one on the west side of the main ridge, and three on the east, making five ridges in all. Subsequently these ridges again begin to be disturbed, and others are thrown out to the right and left, those to the northwards being the highest, and, at last, form a circle, and enclose within that circle an elevated plain about 33 miles long from north to south, and rather less in breadth from east to west. This plain contains an area of nearly 1,000 square miles, several rivers rise in it, and it is, altogether, the best watered tract in these parts. It is called the Plain of Shúm or Shúm Plain.

This rich tract, which might easily be brought into a high state of cultivation, and support a great number of people, was very lately, as I believe it is even now, totally uninhabited, and the gúr-khar or wild ass, and other game, revel in its rich grass and luxuriant cover undisturbed. The banks of its streams are also covered with trees and shrubs of various kinds.

It belongs to a branch of the Búghtí Balúchís, and they used, in former years, to cultivate it partially, but the Shúmbánís, as that branch is styled, have been long since compelled, through the incursions of that lawless and more powerful tribe, the Marís, to abandon it, and seek security in the mountains. The Búghtís too, who have also a bad name for lawlessness, have, in a great measure, been broken up by Jacobábád politics from first to last. A large number of them, to the amount of about 12,000, have been settled at and around Lárkhánah, in Upper Sind. The remains of the tribe, who still dwell in their old seats, are pretty strong in point of numbers.

South of the Khasúrah darah and river, at a distance of little over a mile, we reach the small darah of Suwágrí, and four miles still farther southwards, the Ghátí darah, containing the dry beds of torrents, which after heavy rains come down from the Koh-i-Siyah. These torrent beds are used by men on foot to pass to and fro between the plains and the Drágul mountain ridge, the northernmost of those thrown off from the Koh-i-Siyah, between which and the main ridge, the Kálah Khasúrah rises on the northern end, and near it, but in the contrary direction, the Gúrgandáwí tributary of the Káhá rises, and flows southwards. The Drágul peak rises to the height of 5,400 feet.

Four miles south of the Ghátí darah is the darah and pass of Káhá, which is less used as a route than the Cháchar darah and pass, lower down, on account of the road by the bed of the Káhá river being rough and very stony.

The Káhá darah and pass, sometimes called, but erroneously so, the Kúho darah, from a tributary of the Káhá river, and also known as the Harand pass, takes its name from the Káhá river, which rises a long way within the Afghán territory to the north, runs through the Kihtrán country, and drains a considerable tract. It flows from north to south, and, on reaching the south-western face of the northernmost of the five ridges of the disturbed part of the Koh-i-Siyah, receives two tributaries from the north-east. The first, which is called the Mataní Kund, is the most considerable. *Kund*, in Sanskrit, signifies a spring, a pool, or basin of water. The stream rises on the western side of a ridge, north of the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, at the point where the Káhá pierces the range, and where it makes a bend to the west, bounds the Shúm plain on the north, and begins to encircle it. The second tributary rises between the Mataní Kund ridge and the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah. A third comes from the north-east, from the southern part of Síwístán, the same that is crossed in the route from the Derah-ját to Pushang by Chotíálí, and called the Kúh and Kúho, which must not be confounded with the Káhá, of which it is only a tributary. A fourth tributary of the Káhá river comes from the west. It rises on the slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah bounding the Shúm plain on that side, and is called the

Phailáwar river. The Káhá thus increased flows about four miles farther towards the south, and then makes an abrupt bend to the north-west, and, flowing for two and a half miles in that direction, receives another stream from the north, rising between the second and third ridges of the Koh-i-Siyah, and another small stream from the south, rising on the northern slopes of the fifth and southernmost ridge of the same range.

The Káhá continues to thread its way in the same direction between the southernmost ridges of the range, receives the Gargandáo river, rising between the second ridge and the Drágul or third ridge, and then runs between the Drágul and Marí ridges. After clearing their immediate vicinity, it enters the now very much depressed Koh-i-Surkh and the Derah-ját four miles west of the fort of Harand, at which point of exit the waters are drawn off in canals and conveyed, by way of Harand, as far east as Dájal, a distance of 16 miles, and used by the Gúrchánís and Lunds for the irrigation of their lands, a considerable tract of country. The Káhá and its tributaries is, without exception, the most considerable river of south-eastern Afghánistán, and from the Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán down to the sea.

A little farther south are two other small darahs and streams, the first and largest of which is the Khalgarí, which contains plenty of grass and good water, near its sources on the eastern slope of the Marí ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, called the Chirchandí Kund. The darah is somewhat stony, but men on foot use it in going to and fro between the Marí ridge and Harand. The other darah and stream is called Mírlar. Its water soon fails, but, when the floods come, after heavy rains in the hills, then the waters of both this and the Khalgarí reach the bed of the Káhá river.

The entrance to the Cháchar darah and pass lies two and a half miles to the southward of the Káhá darah. The Cháchar river rises in that part of the Koh-i-Siyah, forming the southern boundary of the Shúm plain, flows about 23 miles in a north-easterly direction, and then, on the eastern side of the plain, receives, from the west, the Kalchar river and its small tributaries, rising a little to the east of the eastern slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, which bounds the Shúm plain on the west. This latter ridge forms the Marí boundary in this direction, and lies about 12 miles east of Káhan. The Cháchar river afterwards receives the little river Latlúr from the north, and then, turning towards the south-western point of a spur from the south-westernmost of the five ridges of the Koh-i-Siyah, is thrust aside to the westward of it. Here the hills rise in some places abruptly from the river bed. Afterwards the river runs between the said spur and the ridge, and turns and bends beneath its south-eastern slopes, receives a few minor rivulets from the south and west, and enters among the numerous low parallel ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh—which, from the point where the Khasúrah river enters the plains, begins to assume a number of small parallel ridges even more numerous than they were farther north—where the waters begin to fail, and soon after are lost, and only reach the Derah-ját after heavy falls of rain in the mountains. The water is pretty good, but there is a mineral spring in the pass. The low hills of the Koh-i-Surkh, between it and the Káhá Pass, are inhabited by the Dúrkání section of the Gúrchánís, who feed their numerous flocks of fat-tail sheep on the rich grass of their hills.

The stages by this route are as follow :—1. Harand to Múní, about 13 miles, water not particularly good. 2. Tobah, 11 miles, water very good. 3. Gond, 12 miles, water indifferent. 4. Katar Pahár, the boundary of the Gúrchání country, 15 miles, good water. 5. The next stage, a long one, leads to the Marí capital, over the Koh-i-Siyah bounding the Shúm plain on the west, distant about 23 miles from the last stage.

Caravans of traders used formerly to frequent this route, and come from various parts of Afghánistán and Balúchistán, as being the nearest road into the Panjáb, and from thence farther east, but it has been abandoned for some time on account of its being infested by the Marís, and traders have chosen a longer, but safer, route by Upper Sind.

Another list of stages has been given, but I cannot vouch for its accuracy, as the computations of some of the distances give greater lengths than are likely, because Káhan is only distant from Harand, as the crow flies, 72 miles. The stages referred to are as follow :—1. Tobah, 18 miles (I make it 16); Bush ke Bet, 22 miles (I make it 19); Gídarpúr (?) 19 miles; Kálá Páni (Katar Pahár ?), 25 miles; Káhan, 16 miles; just 100 miles, but this latter route may follow the windings of the river more than the other route given above, which Kaurah Khán, the Khosah Chief, famous in the last Panjáb campaign before the annexation of that territory, and our ally, furnished me with in 1853.

After the Gúrchánís come the Dríshak Balúchís, but they dwell wholly in the plains. Their chief towns and villages are Asaní, Bágh, Rájanpúr, and Fázilpúr. They have the Gúrchánís to their west in the hills, and the Búghtís still farther to the south of the Gúrchánís, and in the Derah-ját their southern neighbours are the Mazárís, also a Balúch tribe.

As we proceed farther southward, the dreariness of this inhospitable region increases, and the country for many miles, both inside and outside the hills, is a howling wilderness, where the gúr-khar or wild ass roams uninterrupted and unmolested. The only exceptions are near the rivers' beds, where grass is plentiful in the hills, and a narrow belt of cultivation extending some 12 miles along the west bank of the Indus.

The first darah and pass, south of that of Cháchar, about nine miles, and the last within the Gúrchání limits, is that of Fajrú, through which there is a route leading into the great route by Harand to Chotíálí and Tal. It is very sandy, but, on the south side, a few trees relieve the dreary landscape. Water is to be found in the upper part of the darah, but it soon fails, and the bed of the river, which rises in the Koh-i-Surkh, the lowest range, is dry, except after floods of rain in the hills.

The next darah and pass is Baghárí, five miles south of Fajrú, and three miles farther on in the same direction is the darah and pass of Jaházgí, erroneously styled "Cheghdee" in some maps. These darahs are so called from the streams, bearing those names, rising in the Koh-i-Surkh, and only contain water for a mile or two from their sources. The hills, however, afford good pasturage, and good shelter, for some distance on either side. The Bihishtú mountain, farther west, as well as this part of the Koh-i-Surkh, is inhabited by the Lishárí section of the Gúrchánís, who here feed numerous flocks.

Both these darahs contain routes which lead into the great one from Harand to Chotíálí by the Káhá and Cháchar passes, but they are difficult and heavy on account of the sandy nature of the rivers' beds, and are of little consequence. They were used formerly by plundering parties in their incursions into the plains. The nearest inhabited place in British territory is Fathpúr, distant about 12 miles from the skirt of the hills. It belongs to the Drig Balúchís.

Next in rotation comes the Thok darah and pass, about five miles south of Jaházgí. The aspect of the country is bare and inhospitable, and the dreariness is only relieved, here and there, by a few stunted trees and shrubs. The stream giving name to the darah rises beyond the Koh-i-Surkh, in part of the disturbed portion of the Koh-i-Siyah, previously referred to, and the bed of another, rising still farther north, joins it, but except after heavy rains their beds are dry a few miles below their sources. Water is therefore scarce, and when procurable often bitter. A stream of good water, called the Kúnar Kund, is to be found about a mile from the entrance of the pass, which rises in one of the detached mountains of the Koh-i-Surkh.

The route by this darah to the Shúm plain is good for horsemen, and is used by the hill tribes. About 15 miles W.N.W. is a village of the Gúrchánís called Múní and Múrní, inhabited by about 300 people, mostly shepherds. There is no cultivation between the mountains and the Indus nearer than the village of Gámú, distant 19 miles from the former, inhabited by Drig Balúchís, numbering about 500 souls.

A few of the principal stages of the route through this darah into the Afghán country by Chotíálí and Tal, are:—1. Makárí, 12 miles, where there are a number of shady trees, but the water is bitter. 2. Pharah Phat, 17 miles, with good water, and some shady trees. 3. Phálah Wágh, about the same distance as the last stage, water good, and a few trees. 4. Lassú, 12 miles, water indifferent. 5. Bákí, or Bárí Khán—which is also called Barkhar,* I believe—in the Kihtrán country, distant about 19 miles. 6. A long march of 30 miles to Kaholo, where water is good and abundant, and some shady trees are to be found.

Five miles farther south-west from the Thok darah is that of Chák. The pass, however, is of little importance. Sand and rocks appear to be the chief variations in

* This is probably Barkhán or Barkhar, the chief place of the Kihtrán tribe, but there is a good deal of discrepancy with respect to these two names. I think the first is correct.

It is stated that the late Nawwáb, Sádik Muhammad Khán of Baháulpúr, in order to punish an inroad of the Bráhúís, established an outpost at Barkhán, during the time he held possession of the Derah-i-Ghází Khán district, but it was withdrawn after having been kept there a year. It is also said that, at the distance of a short day's journey from thence, there is a pass, through which lies a direct road to Ghaznín and Kábul, but that it has been closed for many years by rolling stones and rocks into it, and filling it up for some distance. This route was formerly followed by káfilahs of traders, who came from Kábul direct to Derah-i-Ghází Khán and the whole road is said to be practicable for artillery, and that another branches off from it leading direc[illegible] to Kandahár. This last-named road refers, doubtless, to those mentioned farther on.

the landscape in this part of the Derah-ját. Through this darah a route leads to the Kot, or fort and village of Islám Khán, the head-quarters of the Búghtí tribe of Balúchís, which lies to the west, parallel to the Súrí darah and pass, farther to the south-west, and the last pass in these hills in the Derah-ját. The nearest inhabited place within the British border, the village of Kádirah, belonging to the Mazárí tribe of Balúchís, is some miles distant.

As we proceed farther southwards from the parallel of Mithan-kot, the breadth of the belt of cultivation along the Indus gradually decreases, until at the village of Rúján it does not extend more than about two or three miles from the Indus banks.

Less than two miles south-west of the Chák darah is the Shorí darah and pass, called, sometimes, the Gandrúsí darah. The Shorí river, after which the darah and pass is named, rises in the Shúm plain on the west side of that portion of the Koh-i-Siyah forming the east boundary of that plain. It drains a portion of it, but its waters fail soon after penetrating the Koh-i-Siyah and entering the Koh-i Surkh. The darah also contains some warm mineral springs, and a few trees here and there. The route by this pass leads into that by Harand to Chotíálí by the Cháchar pass, but it is very difficult. It is distant about 15 miles from the village of Hasan Sháh de Kotlah, in our territory, which is inhabited by a few Sayyids, but, of late years, with peace and quietness, the cultivation may have increased towards the west.

About three miles still farther southwards is the Mughal darah and pass, in which good water is obtainable, but this, like the Ispringí darah and pass, also containing good water, which lies rather less than a mile farther south, is of no great importance. These passes were used, in former times, by the hill robbers in their raids into the plains; and, as already mentioned, for several miles in breadth, the country at the foot of the lower range of mountains, and for a considerable distance within, is totally uninhabited, and generally wanting in water. These obstacles have tended to restrain the Marís and Búghtís from making raids in large bands upon our border, perhaps more so than the few weak posts scattered along the frontier. Small parties, however, have been known to pass the frontier posts unseen, and to penetrate within a short distance of Mithan-kot on the Indus, and carry off cattle successfully.

In this part of the Derah-ját dwell the Mazárí Balúchís, who, in proportion to other tribes of the same people, are pretty numerous. There are about 800 Súla'í Mazárís located at Kashmúr, the most northern village of Upper Sind, as at present constituted. The Mazárís are bounded north by the Dríshaks, south by the Bráhúís, and west by the Búghtís, to the west of whom again are the Marís.

The next darah and pass in succession is that of Tahání, not "Tozanee," distant rather more than two miles from the Ispringí darah. It is called Tahání from the stream rising on the eastern slope of Mount Gandhárí, distant nine miles from the mouth of the pass, which is the most southern detached ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, other ridges from which, from this point, turn abruptly to the west and then to the north, completely encircling the Shúm plain, and meet the other ridges of the range bounding the plain on the north, as already referred to. The bed of the Tahání stream, except near its source, is generally dry. Water is plentiful, but it is bad. There are other smaller streams more to the south containing water of the same description. Tahání can scarcely be termed a valley correctly, because the ground is much broken, and the hills consist of a number of peaks and ridges from the higher range, which are often of considerable height. The pass was used in former times by the Kihtráns, Marís, and Búghtís, in their raids on the plains. The route winds along the stony banks of the river bed when full, and in its bed when dry. Like the routes mentioned above, it joins the Harand route into Afghánistán by Chotíálí, and that by Harand to Káhan and Dádhar, but it is difficult and tedious, being very sandy. The nearest village to this pass in British territory is Badlí of the Mazárís, distant 22 miles.

As we continue our course southwards, the two ranges, the Koh-i-Siyah and Koh-i-Surkh, become much more broken, and the latter, or lower range, is not so well defined as hitherto, and of considerable less elevation than before.

Farther south, distant 11 miles, is the Zangí darah and pass, so called from a stream, sometimes called the Kalgharí, which takes its rise on the eastern slopes of that detached and curiously shaped ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, in appearance like a great petrified centipede, or other crawling creature, called Mount Gandhárí, which ridge, forms, so to speak, the pivot on which both ranges, still greatly disturbed, turn westward towards Dádhar, where they, along with the Tobah range, merge into that

of Hálah which runs down to the sea.* Some writers very erroneously suppose that "a large offset of the Hala range extends eastward, forming the mountains held by "the Murree tribe of Kahun, and joining the Suliman range about Hurrund and "Dajel," but the facts are wholly contrary, as actual survey shows.

The two ranges proceed thus, as I have described, but somewhat less distinct, and of lesser altitude, for nearly 100 miles, until they merge with the Tobah and Hálah ranges. The offshoots from, and continuation of, the Koh-i-Siyah, form the southern boundary of Afghánistán in this direction, the southernmost district, as at present constituted, being Síwístán or Síbístan, of which Síwí or Síbí, once a considerable and important place, is the chief town, but it has gone to great decay.

The offshoots from, or continuation of, the Koh-i-Surkh form the northern boundary of Kachchhí or Kachchh-Gandáwah or Gandábah. In the space between these two ranges, forming, so to speak, a long irregular valley, lies Káhan and the Marí country. The celebrated Nafusk and Sartáf passes lie in the Koh-i-Surkh, and whoever has seen the late Dr. Kirk's coloured drawings of the scenery of these places will notice how appropriate is the name of surkh, signifying red, really a yellowish red, applied to the range. This colour is as distinctly apparent in the *débris* washed from it into the plains of the Derah-ját, about Sakhí Sarwar and Widor and farther north, as at Sartáf and Nafusk.

To return to the Zangí pass, however, a considerable change here takes place in both ranges, which turn abruptly west, as just above related, with the exception of a number of small ridges from the Koh-i-Siyah, which extend as far south as the Súrí darah and pass, where they finally terminate. The Koh-i-Surkh also becomes greatly altered, and from this point—the Zangí darah—it consists of elevated bluffs and long undulating swells, partly covered with pebbles, which gradually become less and lower, until, a little below Kashmúr, they disappear altogether in the dreary plains of Sind.

The western portion of the Zangí darah really consists, in all, of three darahs. The Zangí or Kalgharí river, as already mentioned, rises on the east side of Mount Gandhárí, flows from north to south for a few miles, receiving several small streams from the ravines in the sides of that mountain ridge, including the Chahailí rivulet from the west, and then, after passing on for some miles farther, the bed of the combined streams is called the Sat, and the defile through which it pierces, the Sat pass, the mouth of which lies about six miles north-west from the mouth of the Zangí pass. Alum and yellow ochre abound in many places within the Zangí pass and its branches; indeed the whole range teems with the latter to a greater or less degree, and partly accounts for its peculiar colour.

The Sat pass is strong and difficult, and the Mazárís are said to have often retired thither when hard pressed by enemies.

At this point, near the mouth of the Sat pass, lies another river bed, that of the Hindrainí, which stream rises to the east of and parallel to the Zangí or Kalgharí and opens into it, while to the west another river rises, the Nathal, flowing from west to east, between the ridges where the Koh-i-Siyah, with the exception of the few fragments reaching about eight miles further south to the Súrí pass, terminates. The Nathal receives a number of small rivulets from the ravines on the southern fac of Mount Gandhárí, which towers to the height of about 4,000 feet. The defile i which the bed of these mountain streams lies is called the Rání pass, where good wat is to be found, and where the bed of another stream, called the Chaugah, from th west, joins the beds of the others, about two miles before the Rání pass opens into th Zangí darah. These three defiles, the Sat, Kalgharí, and Rání, having opened out side, some other smaller rivulets, including the Kalárí from the south-west, also jo the bed of the combined streams farther to the east. It must be understood tha except near their sources, the beds of these rivers are dry for greater part of the yea but, after heavy falls of rain or snow on the higher mountains, they sometimes ru down with considerable violence.

There are two routes through the Zangí pass by which Mount Gandhárí and t Shúm plain can be reached. One is by following the bed of the Zangí and that of t

* Abú-l-Fazl, in the A'ín-i-Akbarí, says, referring to the Sarkár of Thathah, that the northern mount separate into four branches, and that one goes on towards Kandahár, and another stretches towards the so far as the town of Koh-Bár. "This," he says, "is named Rám-gar, and terminates with Síwístán, and "part they call Lakhhí. Another branch runs from Sihwán to Síwí, and is styled Kihtar, and a fourth, "extremity of which reaches Kachchh, is called Kárah." This passage, however, is not very clear.

Chahailí; the other by the bed of the Nathal, and by the Rání pass. Water is procured from wells, so called, or rather pits, dug in the beds of the streams, and from springs.

The route leading by this pass to Káhan is steep and difficult in some places, but improves as the traveller proceeds towards Káhan, distant eight stages. They are as follow:—1. To Thák, 10 miles, water abundant at that watering place, where there are a few wild olive and other trees. 2. Nathal, about 11 miles; water and a few trees. 3. Barbar, 12 miles; water and trees. 4. Thárí, about 12 miles; water and a few trees. 5. Marú, about the same distance; some water is procurable. 6. Pátur, on the banks of the Súrí river. This, in Messrs. J. and C. Walker's map, is styled the "Illiassee river," but such a name appears to be totally unknown in those parts. The distance is 13 miles, and there are trees and plenty of water. 7. Kálá Pání,* distant 11 miles; water and a few trees. 8. Káhan, 13 miles.

A ridge from the Koh-i-Siyah, running nearly east and west, and the last of any considerable elevation farther south, abuts on the east side of the Zangí darah and pass, and on the northern side of the same ridge the Rání pass joins the Zangí darah. On the southern slopes of this same ridge several streams rise, one of which, the Kalárí, joins the bed of the Zangí river, while the others, the principal of which, the Chúrzání and Núrání streams, after receiving a number of smaller ones, before entering the Derah-ját, join in two beds, and enter the plains a little way north of the frontier post of Bhúndowálí, and five miles to the south of the Zangí darah. Like most of the others, these river beds only contain water near the sources of the streams, although water may sometimes be found in their beds by digging, and only reach the plains after heavy floods.

Three miles still farther south is the darah and pass of Jíhárí, in which are a few stunted trees, and water is procurable. It is so called from the stream bearing that name, but its bed is generally dry. It receives some smaller streams rising on the southern slopes of the ridge mentioned above, but their beds are dry, except near their sources. There is a place eight miles from the entrance to this darah called Súrí dá Kahír, where good water is obtainable.

The Jíhárí pass also leads into the Káhan route, just described, but it is sandy in many places, and in others mountainous and stony. There is a frontier post near the skirt of the hills, about midway between this and the entrance to the Zangí pass.

The next and last darah and pass, about 12 miles lower down than the Jíhárí darah, before the mountains finally merge into the plains of Kachchhí or Kachchh-Gandábah, is that of Súrí, which pass leads to the Búghtí head-quarters or Derah,† and Káhan the chief town of the Marís, by Siríá, Húran, and the Mandú Kund, at which places, in the bed of the Súrí river, presently to be noticed, water is to be found.

The darah is so called from the Súrí river, which rises on the east side of the southern portion of the Koh-i-Siyah, encircling the Shúm plain on the south, and here called the Dubb mountains. It receives several feeders from the Shúm plain. First it receives the Basháfí river from the north; a little lower down, the Baghorání, also from the north; and still lower down, the Jhán-wálah, Just before emerging from the Shúm plain, the south-western portion of which these rivers drain, the Súrí receives the Dúbar from the north-east. After penetrating the Koh-i-Siyah, it receives a considerable feeder from the west, called the Gújirú, which rises on the south side of the Koh-i-Siyah, and runs almost parallel to the Súrí river, on the southern side of the range, while the Súrí runs on the northern side. At this same point it receives another feeder from the east, the Jangwání river, which rises between the ridges of Mount Gandhárí and another ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah bounding the Shúm plain on the south-east. Six miles still farther south, the Súrí receives

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* This is the same stage as is mentioned at page 15.

† Derah is the same word precisely as that in the Derah of Ghází Khán and the Derah of Ismá'íl Khán, already explained, but modern travellers, in their uncertainty as to the right spelling of proper names of persons and places, being generally unacquainted with or unable to read the original, and their plunging and floundering in consequence, this name has hitherto appeared as "Deyra," "Dheera," and "Deyrah." It is quite time that a uniform and correct—not a *fantastic* system based upon any one's *theories*, but on the vernacular forms of writing such names—should be adopted for the spelling of proper names. The systems hitherto followed, and the various ways in which names of persons, as well as places, have been written, is looked upon as ridiculous by educated natives of Afghánistán, as in the matter of "Quetta" for Kwatah, "Khelat" (persisting in writing it with kh when it contains no such letter) for Kal'at and Kal'át, "Maimené" for Maimanah, and such like fantastic ways.

Derah is situated in a fertile plain, which supplied abundant support to the cattle of General Sir C. J. Napier's force in the campaign against Bíjar Khán in 1845. The General ordered the fort of Derah to be destroyed. To the north of it, in the mountains, part of the Koh-i-Surkh, was Bíjar Khán's stronghold of Trakí.

the Andaríwár (?) from the north-east, which rises on the south slopes of Mount Gandhárí. After flowing onwards a little farther, it leaves the higher mountains altogether, and the water begins to fail, until, at about 30 miles from the eastern mouth of the pass, the bed of the Súrí becomes quite dry. Five miles more to the south, on the west side, is the bed of the Kajúrí river, and still lower down, in the same direction, the Bíjar de Rúd—Bíjar's river, near which is the spring or kund of Mandú—Mandú Kund, a halting place, where, as its name implies, good water is obtainable. The bed of the Súrí then takes a south-easterly course, and is joined by the beds (for they contain no water except near their sources) of some smaller streams from the west and east. About six miles south-east, below the Mandú Kund, is the halting place of Kabrudání, where there is water; and, about three miles lower down, the bed of the Kalárí from the west, and about a mile still lower, the bed of the Búrand, join the Súrí from the south-west. On the opposite side, it receives the bed of the Sunt river, which rises on the southern side of the ridges of the Koh-i-Siyah. The Sunt receives, higher up, the small rivers Belchú and Bárgí from the north-west, both of which rise on the sides of the same ridges, but a little farther to the east, and run nearly parallel to the Sunt darah and pass.

A little to the north of this point, where the bed of the Sunt joins the bed of the Súrí, the latter begins to wind its way among the small low ridges detached from the Koh-i-Siyah. From the mouth of the Sunt darah and pass, the bed of the Súrí runs in the direction of south-east for about seven miles, then nearly due south for about the same distance, and, near the halting place of Siríá, finally leaves the last stray ridges of the Koh-i-Síyah, which, at this point, terminates.

At the place where the Sunt pass and river bed debouches on the bed of the Súrí river, the latter receives the beds of several smaller hill streams, and the principal ones on the east side are, the Tugon, at the point of junction of which with the Súrí bed is the Tegah watering place, and, lower down, another called Húran. Still lower down are the halting places of Júgodah and Siríá, the latter being little over four miles from the eastern entrance of the Súrí pass, on either side of which, north and south, are two bluffs from the Koh-i-Surkh, the one to the north called Siríá dá Pusht, or the Siríá Hill, and that on the south Násir dá Pusht, or Násir's Hill. These are the most southern hills of that range, which range here likewise terminates.

These hills of the Koh-i-Surkh, which belong to the Mazárí tribe, are uninhabited for some distance round, and farther west, towards Káhan and Dádhar. They are of the usual yellowish red limestone, bleak and barren, and without signs of shrubs or trees, except along the beds of the mountain streams; in fact, all around is a dreary wilderness.

To return to the Súrí darah and pass, the road winds along the banks of the river and sometimes in its bed. Like all similar routes, it is heavy and steep in several places, but is practicable for camels, bullocks, and horses, but not for wheeled carriages; and, upon the whole, it is the best road south of the Sakhí Sarwar pass.

The Mazárí village of Sháh-wálí is nine miles from the mouth of the Súrí Pass, which is the natural boundary between the Derah-ját and Upper Sind. A line drawn from the pass to Sháh-wálí formed the boundary in the plains. Kot Islám Khán, the principal place belonging to the Búghtís, lies about 20 miles west of the Súrí pass.

Seven smaller mountain streams rise in the southernmost ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh before they finally terminate, but their water is lost in the sands of the Upper Sind border. The largest of these is the Kamur.

The Marí tribe of Balúchís are powerful in point of numbers. Their country has been already referred to. They are bounded by the Parní and Kihtrán Afgháns on the north, and on the south, east, and west by tribes of their own nationality.

In 1857, the Marís made a raid upon British territory; and, in the winter of 1858, they were punished for it by the Khán of Kal'át-i-Násir, their Balúch suzerain, under pressure from the political agent at his court. The Marís fled to the fastnesses in the Koh-i-Siyah, Káhan was dismantled, and they had to submit, and to give hostages for their future better behaviour. They have been pretty quiet ever since.

In former times, Síwístán and Kachchh-Gandábah were in a very flourishing condition. In the month of Zí-Ka'dah, 921 H. (January, 1515, A.D.), Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún, who then held Kandahár, came into Sind from Síwí, which he had annexed because a dependency of that territory. He entered the townships (*karyah*, a large village or township, with its lands) of Káhan and of Bághbánán, and a thousand camels were taken from the wells alone. This shows the prosperity and fertility of those places at the period in question. Since that time, considerable changes in the bed of the Indus, in all probability, affected these parts. I shall return to this subject in my account

of the lost river of the Indian desert, and changes in the Panjáb rivers. The towns of Bághbánán—the (two) Bághs—at the time of Sháh Beg's inroad, were the boundary of Sind in that quarter.

The town of Síwí, the capital of Síwístán, once an important place, with a fort of some strength, lies at the skirt of a range of hills, and the stones of which it was built, it is said, were "all round (boulders), and, however so much one may dig and excavate "round about the place, only such stones are to be found."

The stream which flowed below Síwí in those days was impregnated with sulphur, and its water was extremely pernicious to health. In the time of Akbar, Bádsháh, we are told that the garrison had to be relieved yearly in consequence. Some time after, but in the same reign, a great flood came, and probably some volcanic action was at work at the same time, and the spring, the source of the stream, disappeared, and the baneful effects of the water were removed. The changed stream, at that time, used to flow a distance of 50 kuroh, to the district of Sarwáh, and was used for irrigation purposes, but a small portion of it found its way into Lake Manchhúr, the "Munchur" of our maps.

Subsequent to Sháh Beg Khán's time, in the reign of Jálál-ud-Dín, Muhammad Akbar, Bádsháh, the town of Síwí and its dependencies formed one of the mahálls or departments of the Sarkár of Bakhhar; and its Afghán population had to furnish (as militia, when called upon) 500 horse and 1,500 foot, and paid 13 lakhs and 81,930 dáms (40 dáms to the rupee) of revenue in money. Bághbánán formed another Maháll in the Sarkár of Síwístán (Siwastán, of which Sihwán in Sind was the chief town), as did also Káhan and Pátar. Bághbánán paid 19 lakhs, and 80,152 dáms of revenue, in money; Káhan 20 lakhs, and 8,884; and Pátar 16 lakhs, and 40,764 dáms.

The territories of Dog, Pushang, and Shál, and Mastang and its dependencies, were included in the eastern division of the Kandahár province. Dog, at which place there was a fort of unburnt brick, paid 9 tománs (the *tomán* was then equal to a little more than $33\frac{1}{2}$ rupees—$33\frac{65}{120}$) in money, 1,900 kharwárs of grain, 12,000 sheep, and 15 horses; and the Tarín and Kákar inhabitants had to furnish 500 horse and 1,000 foot as militia.

At Shál, also known as Kwatah in recent times, there was a fort of unburnt brick, and it and its territory were assessed at four and a half tománs in cash, 940 sheep, and 780 kharwárs of grain. The Kásí Afgháns and Balúchís, therein dwelling, had to furnish 1,000 horse and 1,000 foot as a militia contingent when required.

At Pushang (which, with Dog, will be referred to presently in the account of the Sháhzádah Dárá-Shukoh's expedition to Kandahár) there had been a fort of unburnt brick of old. Its lands were assessed at 33 tománs in money, 3,200 sheep, and 500 kharwárs of grain, and the Kásí Afgháns and Balúchís had to furnish 1,500 horse and 1,500 foot as militia.

The town of Mastang and its dependencies paid 10 tománs and 8,000 dínárs, and 470 kharwárs of grain, and the Kásí Afgháns and Balúchís furnished 200 horse and 500 foot. There was a fort of unburnt brick at Mastang.

Expedition of the Shahzadah Muhammad-i-Dara-Shukoh, Son of the Shah-i-Jahan, Badshah-i-Ghazí, against Kandahar.

The Persians having invested Kandahár in 1059 H.*—A.D. 1649,—Sháh-i-Jahán despatched his third son, Aurangzeb-i-'Alamgír, along with the Wazír, Sa'd-ullah Khán, as his mentor and guide, at the head of a large army to relieve it, but, by the time the army had reached Ghaznín from Kábul, Kandahár had fallen. They marched, however, to invest it, in 1061,—A.D. 1651,—and continued before the place for a period of four months. They defeated a Persian force sent from Hirát to create a diversion, but, the cold season being about to set in, the investment had to be abandoned.

In the following year, 1062 H.—A.D. 1652,—after vast preparations had been made, the Sháhzádah Aurangzeb, and the Wazír, again moved against Kandahár by way of Kábul; and Sháh-i-Jahán himself proceeded to Kábul to render aid if required. An inroad of the Uzbaks, however, into the Kábul province, caused the siege to be

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* The year 1059 H. began on the 4th January 1649;
" 1060 H. " " 24th December 1649;
" 1061 H. " " 14th " 1650;
" 1062 H. " " 3rd " 1651; and
" 1063 H. " " 21st November 1652.

andoned, and Aurangzeb and his army recalled, "when the fall of Kandahár," so ey say, "could be reckoned on for certain within a very few days," but certainly everal assaults were delivered without success.*

As soon as the movement of the army before Kandahár become known to the Jzbak invaders, they decamped; and Sháh-i-Jahán was greatly grieved and mortified o think that he had ordered the siege to be raised. I know of no history, except he "Táríkh-i-Kandahár," otherwise the "Latá'if-ul-Akhbár," of Rashíd Khán, from which the following account is taken, and who was present in Dárá-Shukoh's camp, which mentions the fact of the recall of Aurangzeb and his army, and the reason of t. On the contrary, other writers state that all the efforts of Aurangzeb and his troops were of no avail, and that the near approach of winter was the cause of the siege being finally abandoned.

"At last, the Sháhzádah, Muhammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, the eldest and favourite son of Sháh-i-Jahán, noticing his father's grief and chagrin—for Kandahár was looked upon as one of the keys of India—offered to make another attempt to recapture it. His offer was accepted, and Dárá-Shukoh was made Súbahdár of the province of Kábul, and also of Multán, so that their resources might be at his disposal. The death of Sháh 'Abbás, the Persian monarch, about the same time, gave hopes of success, as it was expected and hoped that great disorders would arise in Persia in consequence.

"Dárá-Shukoh left Kábul and repaired to Láhor to make his preparations during the cold season. Two great battering guns were cast there, the ball required for one of which weighed 1 *man* and 5 *sers*=90 lbs. English. This gun was named Fath-i-Mubarák—the auspicious victory—and on it was inscribed—

'The artillerymen of Sháh-i-Jahán are wreaking destruction on Kandahár.'

The other gun was called the Kishwar-Kusháe—the Country Conqueror, or Opener—and carried a ball of 32 *sers*=64 lbs. A third large gun was brought to Láhor from Delhi, named Kala'h-Kusháe—the Fortress Opener or Taker.†

"On the 24th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 1063 H.—11th February 1653, A.D.,—Dárá-Shukoh began his march, and the great guns were put on board vessels at Láhor, and sent down the Ráwí to Multán, after twenty days had been expended in removing them from the arsenal within the citadel of Láhor to the vessels.

"The distance from Multán by the route to be taken was 160 jaríb kos [about 300 miles]."‡

The forces and armament provided for this expedition, which are not given in the "Táríkh-i-Kandahár," according to another author were as follow:—

Ten heavy siege guns, together with thirty others of smaller calibre (another work says they included four heavy guns, as the eye-witness from whom this account is taken confirms. A third author states that there were seven guns and mortars, but he does not mention others of less power, which Dárá-Shukoh certainly had with him); 30,000 iron shot, great and small; 1,500 *mans* (60,000 lbs.) of lead; 5,000 *mans* (200,000 lbs.) of gunpowder; 5,000 artillerymen, for working the guns and rockets; 10,000 musketeers (armed with matchlocks); 6,000 pioneers, sappers, and axemen 500 pakhális (water skins of large size, carried on bullocks and attended by a man) 3,000 ahdís (independent cavaliers);§ 60 war elephants, selected for their size an strength; and 70,000 cavalry; in all, 104,000 men; and a great number of birinjárí (a class of men who follow camps with grain) were also taken to carry corn for th army.

To return to the account of Rashíd Khán:—

"On the 24th of the following month, Rabí'-us-Sání (12th of March), Dárá-Shuko crossed the Chináb from Multán to the opposite bank, where he halted four days to mak his final arrangements for the march of the camp followers (which must have near doubled his force in point of numbers). While there encamped the heavy guns arriv

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* They remained before it on this occasion, according to the "Mir'át-i-Jahán-Numá, two months and ei days.

† There was a fourth sent by Shál and Dádhar, named Maryam, according to what is said at page 25.

‡ The kos of Sháh-i-Jahán's reign is said to have been 1,500 gaz, each of 24 fingers' breadth. For differe in the length of the kuroh and kos, *see* note (*), page 1.

The distance from Sakhhar to Kandahár by Dádhar, the route taken by the army of the Indus in 1838, 398 miles and 3 furlongs. Dárá-Shukoh reached Kandahár in about 33 marches, but some were very sh especially the latter ones.

§ A portion of a *corps d'élite*, called Ahdís, or independent cavalry, who rode their own horses, and rece very high pay. They also served in detached appointments, and officers for other branches of the army often selected from them. They numbered about 7,000 in Sháh-i-Jahán's time.

from Láhor; and it was determined that they should be conveyed to Kandahár from thence by way of Dádhar and Shál (Kwatah), escorted by 1,000 pioneers, some elephants, and a body of troops."

This appears to have been determined more on account of the uncertainty of information regarding the practicability of the route by the Sanghar pass than anything else; and, as it afterwards turned out, a more unfortunate arrangement could not have possibly been made, as will be presently seen.

"The army having crossed the Sind river on the 3rd of Jamádí-ul-Awwal (towards the end of March 1653 A.D.), encamped at 'Alam Khán, about 25 miles north of Derah-i-Ghází Khán; and, in two more marches, the Sanghar pass was reached.

"The Persians* had posts at Dogí† and Chotíálí; and, on reaching the Sanghar pass, a body of 700 picked horsemen, under Jahángír Beg, was sent forward with directions to keep well in advance of the army, and, if possible, surprise the Persian posts, while the Zamíndárs (the Afghán headmen) of those places were requested to afford him aid, and send him information respecting the Persians and their movements to enable him to capture them. Jahángír Beg, likewise, was directed to move on whenever the zamíndárs should request him to do so.

"Before commencing his march through the Sanghar pass, Dárá-Shukoh gave directions respecting the order of the march. A large portion of the entire army, about one third of the whole, preceded his own camp and troops attached to it a march in advance, while the remainder of the army followed his camp one march in the rear. In seven consecutive marches the frontier of the Jajah territory was reached, where a kárwán of merchants from I-rán (proceeding towards Sanghar) was met. From the merchants information was obtained (falsely as it turned out) that the garrison of Kandahár only amounted to 3,000 men, and that grain, powder, and lead were very scarce.

"Next day the march was continued, and the third stage from thence (*i.e.* the frontier of the Jajah territory), the halting place or stage of Sang-i-Nuksán was reached, which point is the boundary between Kandahár and Hind."

This place seems to refer to some position—a pass probably—beyond or near the hills bounding the Kihtrán country on the west, beyond which the Chotíálí district commences. It is unfortunate the writer did not enter into greater detail respecting places on the line of march, but these are matters generally ignored by most oriental writers.

"Here a report was received from Jahángír Beg to the effect that the Persians had abandoned Dogí and Chotíálí, and that the Kákar Afgháns had, it was stated, closed the pass called the Kotal-i-Zíárat-gáh, the Pass of the Place of Pilgrimage (which appears to refer to the place marked in some maps as "Shekh Hasan's Tomb;" the tomb of Shaikh Hasan would be called a Zíárat-gáh, and is about 21 miles west of Chotíálí), but that, having abandoned everything, they had saved themselves by flight, and had succeeded in reaching Pushang with some loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

"The next march, from Sang-i-Nuksán, brought Dárá-Shukoh to Chotíálí;‡ and there plentiful supplies were obtained. He next reached Dogí (whether in one march or not is not stated, but, from the usual mode of expression in this work, one march is apparently meant). Here news was received that 2,000 Kazil-básh cavalry had reached Pushang in order to collect and carry away all the grain they could lay hands upon, and send it to Kandahár. On this the van division of Dárá-Shukoh's army, one stage in advance, was ordered to make a forced march to Pushang.

"Dárá-Shukoh's next march was to Sih-Gotah§ and beyond Tal, over a somewhat difficult pass, after some labour, on the way to Tabak-sar—*tabak* means a narrow

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* The author styles them Kazil-báshís, but I have adopted the more familiar term here.

† Also called Dog (*see* page 21). Bábar Bádsháh, on one occasion, having entered the northern Derah-ját from Kohát by Bannú, reached the town of Belah on the Sind river. He then marched to Pír Kánún, a famous shrine, situated in the lower hills which join the higher range of Mihtar Sulímán, or Koh-i-Siyah. He had heard that he could pass a corner of that range towards Dogí, and then a straight road would lie before him. He marched from the Tomb, reached the summit of a kotal, and halted. From thence he marched to the river which appertains to the territory of Dogí and Chotíálí, and there halted. In another march he reached Chotíálí, which is a dependency of Dogí. Forage here became scarce (it was owing chiefly to the time of the year). From Chotíálí he reached Ghaznín. No particulars unfortunately are given, but it is mentioned that, after proceeding onwards, in one or two marches more he reached the lake called Ab-Istádah, or the Standing Water or Lake; there being no such name as "*Lake* Abistada."

‡ He had therefore made eleven marches from the Sanghar pass to Chotíálí.

§ This refers to a pass in the line of hills running almost parallel to the range bounding the Pushang valley to the south-west. Tal and Chotíálí belong to the Spín or White Taríns, who are independent.

gorge, and *sar*, head or point,—the head of the narrow gorge.* On the second march from Sih-Gotah, when the troops halted at Tabak-sar, they suffered much from scarcity of water, especially the cattle of the army. Having passed Tabak-sar, the seventh march brought them to Pushang (the valley of Pushang). Scarcity of forage now began to be felt.

"The following day Dárá-Shukoh continued his advance, and, on the second march, reached the foot of the Man-Darah pass † (the A'ín-i-Akbarí mentions it under the name of the Faj-i-Mandarak—*faj* signifies a broad road or way between two mountains—the ascent of which was 35 and the descent 39 jaríbs.‡ Jauhar, the Aftábahchí or Ewer-bearer of Humáyún Bádsháh, who wrote an account of his master's flight from India and subsequent history, calls this place the Panj Badrah kotal), by which time the van of the army had arrived in sight of Kandahár, and had taken up a position on the east side of that fortress. Dárá-Shukoh, having crossed the pass on the fourth day (three more marches, but short ones), encamped near Mard Kala'h (the Kandahárís call it Mart Kala'h), which is 5 kuroh from Kandahár, and from the next stage (he appears to have proceeded very leisurely these latter stages) the booming of the guns of the van of the army could be heard. For seven days he remained encamped here, waiting for the propitious hour to proceed, which was to be made known by the astrologers.

"Whilst he was here encamped, the whole of the forces in the rear came up; the several points of attack were fixed upon; and the different nobles and officers had their posts assigned to them."§

The fortress here referred to, it must be remembered, is what is now known as "old Kandahár," which lay a few miles westward of the present city, and adjoining the Koh-i-Lakah.

"Pending the arrival of the heavy guns sent by way of Dádhar (and the Bolán Pass, we hear so much harped upon as 'the only practicable route' in that direction), and a reinforcement with artillery, under the Súbahdár of Kábul, from that city and province, orders were given to proceed slowly with the approaches and platforms for the guns. The garrison of Kandahár was now found to number not 3,000 but 6,000 men, amply provided with ammunition, stores, and provisions for a year. Some Núhání Afgháns at this time supplied Dárá-Shukoh's camp with 4,000 camel loads of grain, which was much needed.

"A small force was now despatched to occupy the Kúshk-i-Nakhúd ‖ (improperly written from ear, in our maps, 'Khoosk-i-Nakood,' and 'Khooshk Nakhood,' &c.) on the Hirát road; and a considerable body of troops under Rustam Khán, Bahádur, Fírúz-i-Jang, against Bust,¶ in case of any attempt to relieve Kandahár from Hirát or Sijistán, for, from news found on a messenger who had been captured, 20,000 Kazil-báshís were said to be then at Faráh."

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* Tabak also signifies a layer, a slab, stratification, etc.; and I find, since the above was written, that, at thi place, the rocks are of a very peculiar stratification, and hence the name. *See* Note 9, page 318, of m "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," and note 8, page 319.

† This pass is more to the northward, above the Khajzak pass. There are three kotals or passes especiall mentioned by Afgháns as lying in the route between Kandahár and Pushang—the Kotal-i-Zákir and Kotal- Gwajar—which latter appears to be identical with the Man-Darah pass, mentioned above. The Kotal- Khajzak or Khajzak pass was in ancient times called Púshang, which people of Arab descent call Fúshan after a fort of that name at the foot of the pass, and which gave name to the whole valley. This name, course of time, became shortened into Pushang and Fushanj, but travellers and map makers have vitiated it in "Pisheen," "Peisheen," "Peishin," "Pishin," and such like names, in fact, anything but the correct name

The first 'Alí Mardán Khán, while Governor of Kandahár, subsequent to his deserting the Sháh of I-rán a taking service with the ruler of Dihlí, dispossessed Sher Khán, the Tarín, of the fort of Pushang in 1041 H

The Ghalzí King, Sháh Husain, son of the Hájí, Mír Wais, during the predominance of his tribe ov Kandahár, "marched from the fort of Pushang to Shál by the Gaz kotal. The Roghání kotal was genera "followed in going to and fro by Kwatah or Shál and Púshang to Ghaznín by the Ab-Istádah route."

Púshang or Fúshanj is also the name of an ancient town near Hirát, and well known in history. Mus'ab, of As'ad, and father of Tábir-i-Zú-l-Yamanain, the founder of the Táhirí dynasty in Khurásán, was for so time Governor of Fúshanj and its dependencies. *See* my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 11.

‡ There were 60 jaríbs to a kuroh. *See* note to page 1.

§ Dárá-Shukoh appears to have encamped a short distance on the east side of the Koh-i-Zákir, from summit of the pass over which a fine view of Kandahár is obtained.

‖ Or may be written Kushk-i-Nakhúd, Kushk being the shortened form of Kúshk. *See* my "Translatio the Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 331, note 2.

By the Pushang route from India, by marching from thence to the Ghunda'í- (the mound or detached etc., in Pus'hto) i-Mansúr, you can proceed to Hirát without touching Kandahár at all. This Kúsh Nakhúd is Elphinstone's "Kooshkinukhood."

Kúshk means literally a large and lofty stone or brick building, a castle, but here refers to those fort villages, several of which are still to be found, though on a smaller scale than formerly, in the tracts we Kandahár and Ghaznín, and some other parts of Afghánistán.

¶ Another author says to seize Bust, Girishk, and the Zamín-i-Dáwar—the Dáwar district, or territory.

Dárá-Shukoh had not been long before Kandahár before his troubles began. He was the victim of intriguers and incapables, for success, on his part, was not to be permitted, if it could be possibly prevented; and the Mír-i-Átash, or Chief Engineer and Commandant of Artillery, was an upstart, and totally unfitted for the duties into the bargain.

"The Súbahdár of Kábul soon arrived in Dárá-Shukoh's camp with five guns (their size is not stated, but one was a large one, as is subsequently mentioned. The rest were evidently light guns), and now preparations were made to assault the burj or tower on the Koh-i-Chihl-Zínah *—the Hill of the Forty Steps (a rocky hill commanding the city and fortress), and two guns were placed in position for the purpose of battering it. Most of the shots from the two guns, however, missed the tower of Chihl-Zínah, but fell into the old fort or citadel—Kala'h-i-Kuhnah—and did some damage there.

"About this time, too, a Farangí (a Portuguese?) who had charge of two guns, had rammed in the shots, without any powder, so firmly that the shots could not be withdrawn, and the guns became totally useless. Out of fear, the Farangí deserted to the Persians.

"Rustam Khán, Bahádur, Fírúz-i-Jang, commanding the troops despatched against Bust, asked for some guns to be sent to him, and reinforcements, to enable him to attack it. The two guns were accordingly withdrawn from their position against the tower of Chihl-Zínah, and despatched along with 1,000 pioneers, sappers, and miners, to Rustam Khán before Bust.

"After seven days' investment that fort surrendered, on a false report being purposely circulated that Kandahár had fallen. The guns were consequently sent back.

"Soon after, 2,700 camel loads of warlike stores arrived at the camp before Kandahár from Kábul; and 350 camel loads of planks, for siege purposes, arrived from Multán (by the Sanghar route).

"Rustam Khán, after the surrender of Bust, detached 200 horse from thence to occupy Girishk, but they were attacked by a large force of Kazil-báshís, Balúchís, and Nikudarís (Mughals, descendants of one of the Hazárahs, located between Ghaznín, Kábul, and Hirát, respecting whom some travellers and writers have put forth many extravagant theories. More respecting them will be found in the account of the districts north and east of Kandahár, farther on), from the fortress of the Zamín-i-Dáwar, and the whole killed or wounded, with the exception of three persons, who reached Rustam Khán with the news.

"Up to this time the battering guns sent by way of Bakhhar, Dádhar, and Shál, from Multán had not arrived, but now news was circulated to the effect that they had passed Dádhar, and would certainly arrive by the 15th or 16th of Ramazán (28th or 29th of July, 1653). Subsequently it was stated that they would reach Shál in five or six days, and four days after reach Pushang, arrive at the foot of the pass (the Khajzak pass?) on a specified date, and reach Kandahár by a certain day. Elephants were accordingly despatched to a place called Lailá and Majnún,† distant 24 miles to the southward of Kandahár, and beyond the river Tarnak, to help them in. When the elephants arrived there, there were no signs of the guns; and even the bullocks sent on to Pushang were brought back, as nothing was known there about them.

"During all this time mining and countermining went on before Kandahár, and damdamahs—artificial mounds to receive guns—were ordered to be raised for the expected battering guns. Out of the four on the way, the two smallest, Maryam and Kala'h-Kusháe, were reported to have actually arrived at Lailá and Majnún at last. A detachment of 1,000 horse was despatched to escort them into camp with all pomp. The cavalry went as far as Siyah Chashmah, but found no guns. They, however, arrived soon after, were brought into camp, and soon placed in the positions intended for them.

"Misfortunes now began to thicken upon Dárá-Shukoh and his army. An assault on the tower of Chihl-Zínah had been beaten off; and, up to this period, no less than

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* The Koh-i-Chihl-Zínah is a rocky spur from the Koh-i-Lakah, which overlooks Kandahár from the east, and a deep chasm separates the spur from the Lakah range. On this spur a former Hindí Governor built a tower which commanded the whole fortress and city. It could not be mined from its very situation, and it was shot proof. The place was called the Koh-i-Chihl-Zínah because Bábar Bádsháh had a platform made, and a seat placed there, for his own recreation, and forty steps had to be cut in the rock to reach it. It was subsequently, and still is, known as the Burj-i-Kaitúl. A fire temple of the Gabrs is said to have stood on this spot; and it is probable that the *burj*, or tower, was built from some of its materials.

† A high rock, from beneath which a spring of clear water gushes forth. According to the tradition, the rock is Majnún, who threw himself from the peak above in his frenzy for his mistress Lailá.

35 mines of the besiegers had been found by the enemy, who received information respecting them from traitors in the camp. The iron cannon balls, of which 30,000 had been supplied, with the exception of eight balls for four guns, had all been left behind at Láhor, as being too heavy, while 700 camel loads of planks and beams of wood, which were perfectly useless, had been brought all the way from Láhor! Dárá-Shukoh was advised not to encumber his army with such weighty things as iron shot, because stone shot, equally serviceable, could be made at Kandahár itself, and for this purpose 500 stone-cutters were sent with the army. The stone chosen for the cannon balls was from the Koh of Bábá Walí, but, when the balls were fired, it was found that they went to pieces in the air, from the strength of the powder, it was supposed, and, of course, were utterly useless, and more dangerous to friend than foe.

"The pioneers and miners now refused to do duty, because they had been sacrificed, they asserted, through not being protected by the troops, who were negligent of their duties, and did not keep watch on their posts. Up to this period the lives of 1,000 of them had been sacrificed. After much pressure and persuasion they agreed to work for three days more.

"Dárá-Shukoh had now been four months before Kandahár, and great was his grief, and bitterly did he give vent to his pent up feelings. He reproached those to whose evil counsel he had trusted: 'From the very outset,' he said, 'the truth had 'been kept from him, and, with the single exception of Muhabbat Khán, who had 'spoken the truth to him on the line of march, they were all traitors, hypocrites, and 'dissemblers,* and, had he only met Muhabbat Khán at Láhor, he would never have 'undertaken the task.'

"In this state of affairs it was resolved by Dárá-Shukoh to recall the troops from Bust, and concentrate all his strength for an assault upon Kandahár. A contrivance was also suggested, in order to prevent the stone shot from splitting, which was to wrap them up in coarse flax,† but, as this was not procurable apparently, the shots were encased in raw hide, and allowed to dry in the sun before using them. When discharged, however, the shots made strange gyrations in the air, and did more harm to the besiegers than the besieged. This ill success was attributed by some to bad powder, by others to the powder being too strong, and by others to magic. At this time another big gun, the Fath-i-Mubárak, arrived, and a few days after, the other, the Kishwar-Kusháe, was also brought into camp."

The assailants now appear to have been a little more successful with their stone shot, for the guns actually did some execution.

"One of the great guns brought down 40 ells of the wall opposite the battery in which it was placed, but, soon after, it was found that the Fath-i-Mubárak was cracked, and therefore of no farther use. The breach caused by the fall of the wall was sufficiently low so as to allow a person to place his hands on the wall itself, and it was declared practicable.

"Rustam Khán and his troops had not yet been recalled from Bust, but an assault was delivered. It was well planned, but badly and negligently carried out by some, and failed through the cowardice of others. No less than 3,000 Hindús, chiefly Rájpúts, fell on this occasion, as well as a proportionate number of Musalmáns.‡

"After this disastrous affair, Rájah Jai Singh was ordered to march to the Shutar-Gardan Kotal—the Camel's Neck Pass§—on the road to the Tarín country, as it was found that the enemy contemplated occupying it, in order to cut off the retreat of the Mughal army, and he was directed to take as many Rájpúts with him as he desired. Soon after, Rájah Jai Singh was directed to give up guarding the Shutar Gardan Pass, and take up a position in the Tarín country, at the point where the two routes met.

"Robbers now began to carry off cattle belonging to Dárá-Shukoh's army, and a portion of it was moved to a position called Pashmúl, four kuroh from Kandahár.

"On the 2nd of the month, Zí-Ka'dah (12th of September), just five months after his arrival before Kandahár, orders were given to burst the great gun, Fath-i-Mubárak,

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* As in modern times, there were plenty to find fault, and cry out against the way operations were being carried out, but not one would give an opinion how they should be remedied, although Dárá-Shukoh tried threats and blandishments, and even entreaties, with the principal leaders. In fact, those who were not actual traitors, were ready to sacrifice their country to their own personal feelings, rather than their rivals should succeed in anything.

† They did not use wads probably, and this was equivalent.

‡ Another author states that this assault was delivered on the 9th of the month Shawwál, 21st August, 1652.

§ There are several Shutar Gardan passes. The one here referred to is one of the passes in the same range of mountains as the Khojzak and Roghání passes, but more to the north.

and for the pieces to be carried away, so that it might be recast in India, and with it exploded the hope of taking Kandahár.*

"On the 14th of the same month, the Kábul troops, with their guns, marched to the Deh-i-Khwájah, three kuroh from Kandahár (on the route to Kábul); Rustam Khán and his troops had returned from Bust, and preparations for the march back to India were made. All being ready, on the night of Wednesday,† Dárá-Shukoh began his retreat. The Rájpút troops had previously been sent off a march in advance, on the line of retreat. Dárá-Shukoh halted on the river Tarnak, about a mile and half from Mard-Kala'h, which is about five kuroh south of Kandahár. Rustam Khán and Muhabbat Khán, with their troops, remained within the old camp until the sun had reached the meridian, and all the camp-followers had been sent off, after which they put their troops in motion and followed.

"From the Deh-i-Khwájah, on the Tarnak river, Dárá-Shukoh and his army made a long march of 12 kuroh, equal to 22 rasmí kuroh, the standard of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh's reign, and, in three marches, reached the Kotal or pass of Man-Darah. When he reached the place called Ab-i-Siyah Chashmah—the Water of the Black Spring,—which was the halting place of the cattle of the army,‡ the utmost confusion prevailed. A halt became necessary, for all had not come up, and did not until the following day. The rearguard was obliged to halt even for another day, because the pass of Man-Darah was so narrow.§

"Dárá-Shukoh got clear of the pass with the main body of the army, and, in three marches, reached Pushang. The rear was now harassed by the Afghâns, for which reason Rustam Khán remained, with his troops, at the top of the pass until all the camp-followers had cleared it and passed on. The Lorá river was afterwards crossed and Pushang reached. The fort there was destroyed. The next march was by the Waní (Wanah ?) Kotal,‖ which, in one part, is rather narrow, and a halt was made at Sih-Gotah. At this place, Dárá-Shukoh gave Rustam Khán, who commanded the rear division of the army, the option of proceeding by the Tabak-Sar route, the same as was taken going to Kandahár, or of following him by the Waní Kotal, but keeping one march in the rear.¶ Rustam Khán, however, knowing the difficulty of the route the Sháhzádah was about to take, followed that by Tabak-Sar. The Afgháns, like hungry wolves, followed behind, and the suffering was great, for the cold was severe** (it was the month of October), and the people could not use their hands or feet until the heat of the sun warmed them. No place of shelter offered whereat several did not loiter behind, and those who did loiter the Afgháns carried off; and there was no rough or difficult ground whereat some horses, camels, cows, and bullocks did not break down, and the Afgháns did not secure them, and drive off. Rich men abandoned all for the sake of saving their lives; all that was left behind was snapped up; and all who sat down by the way side lost their lives. Safety lay in pushing onwards.†† The Hindús suffered most, as, without being able to see cows, their food was not lawful, and there was no provision made for supplying them with water separate from the Muhammadans. It was only when Rustam Khán joined the main force at Sih-Gotah, that the Hindús could eat and drink again.

"The march having been resumed, in two more marches Dogí was reached from Sih-Gotah. Dogí had been evacuated by the commander of the post left there on the advance of the army to Kandahár, as he had been informed that the army would retire thence to Kábul, and not return by the former route. Had that place not been evacuated, the army would not have encountered all this trouble on its retreat.

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* It was not again attempted, and Kandahár never after fell into the hands of the Mughal rulers of Dilhí.

† Our Tuesday night: the night precedes the day according to the Eastern computation of time. It must have been the night of Tuesday, the 26th of September.

‡ This appears to have been the place where most of the cattle of the army had been kept during the siege, and is the same as mentioned at page 25.

§ Muhammad Sálih, the author of the history entitled "'Amal-i-Sálih," calls this the pass of Fúshanj. *See* note §, page 24.

‖ Which is not mentioned in the account of the march to Kandahár, but it evidently refers to the range of hills forming the south-east boundary of the Pushang valley, and called "Tukkattoo" in our previous maps, but that part of it lying towards the Jzobah mountains.

¶ Here Dárá-Shukoh was evidently proceeding by another, and, possibly, more northern and parallel route, to avoid the confusion and press caused by the numerous camp-followers, and, unfortunately, the writer of the account of the expedition remained behind with Rustam Khán at this time, and details of Dárá-Shukoh's own proceedings for three or four marches have not been given.

** The cold is very great in that part in the month referred to.

†† This, of course, refers to the camp-followers and non-combatants, and likewise stragglers from their corps, for the retreat appears, under all the circumstances, to have been effected in pretty good order.

"Dárá-Shukoh now determined, all danger of pursuit being over, to push on to Multán, slightly attended: so, making over the command of the troops to Rustam Khán, on the 1st of the month Zí-Hijjah (11th of October), he set out escorted by 2,000 horse. Rustam Khán's arrangements on the line of march, on this occasion, were, that every darah was occupied by a strong force, and that force held such position until another arrived to relieve it, when it would push on to another favourable point, the rear-guard being the strongest. After Chotíálí was reached all danger of attack on the baggage and followers was over, and scarcity, from which all had hitherto suffered, ceased, and the army pursued its way without farther molestation. Dárá-Shukoh reached Multán, by the Sanghar Pass, on the 9th of the month of Zí-Hijjah (19th of October, 1653, A.D.), and the army soon after reached it likewise."*

Before closing this account of the Lower Derah-ját and the routes leading to Kandahár, it may not be out of place to mention here the names of the most important places in Sind and Balúchistán occurring in the map, as such names have hitherto, with hundreds of others, been incorrectly spelt and written. I have given the names in the original, as well as their translation:—

Thathah and Thatah, not "Tattah."
Láhrí Bandar, or Bandar-i-Láhrí.
Sakhhar, not "Sukker," or "Sukkur."
Hálah, not "Hala," or "Hallar."
Bakhhar and Bhakkar, not "Bukkur."
Káhan, not "Kahún," or "Kahán."
Úchchah and Uchchah, not "Uch," "Ujah," or "Ootch."
Shál, not "Shawl."
Mastang, not "Moostung," or "Mustang."
Kwatah, not "Quetta."
Kal'át and Kal'at, not "Khelat," or "Kelát."
Kusdár, not "Khozdar."
Dádhar, not "Dadur."
Kachchh and Kachchhí, not "Cutch," or "Cuchee."
Zirhí, not "Zehree."
Gand-ábah, or Gand-áwah, not "Gundava."
Sihwán, not "Sehwun."
Síwastán, the district of which Sihwán is the chief town.
Siwístán, or Síbístán, the southern district of Afghánistán, of which Síbí, or Síwí, is the chief place.
The Koh-i-Lakkí, or mountain range of Lakkí, or Lahkhí, not "Lukkee," or "Luckee."
Khán Wáh canal, south of Thathah, not "Kamva," or "Kanwah."
Talhatí.

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* The following is a fair specimen of the loose and inaccurate manner in which Indian history has hitherto been written, through following the statements of a single author without comparing all contemporary writers available. "Elphinstone, India," page 517 (third edition), says, "Dárá" commenced his march from "Láhór," and leads us to believe that he went to Kandahár by way of "Cábul." He then has: "Dárá opened his "trenches, as Aurangzíb had done before him, on the day and hour fixed by the astrologers, and ordered by "the emperor before the army set out on its march. He began the siege on a scale proportioned to his "armament (which he does not mention). He mounted a battery of 10 guns on a high and solid mound of "earth, raised for the purpose of enabling him to command the town, and he pushed his operations with his "characteristic impetuosity, increased, in this instance, by rivalry with his brother. He assembled his chiefs, "and besought them to support his honour, declaring his intention never to quit the place till it was taken; "he urged on the mines, directed the approaches, and the besieged having brought their guns to bear on his "own tent, he maintained his position until their fire could be silenced by that of his artillery. But, after "the failure of several (!) attempts to storm, and the disappointment of near prospects of success, his mind "appears to have given way to the dread of defeat and humiliation; he entreated his officers not to reduce "him to a level with the twice-beaten Aurangzíb, and he had recourse to magicians and other impostors, "who promised to put him in possession of the place by supernatural means. Such expedients portended an "unfavourable issue; and accordingly, after a last desperate assault, which commenced before daybreak, and "in which the troops had at one time gained the summit of the rampart, he was compelled to renounce all "hope, and to raise the siege, after having lost the flower of his army in the prosecution of it. *He was* "*harassed on his retreat both by the Persians* (!) *and Afgháns, and it was not without additional losses that* "*he made his way to Cábul, whence he pursued his march to Láhor.*" History such as this is pernicious, because it is not authentic.

The name of the prince was Muhammad, and his title Dárá-Shukoh, that is to say, "Darius-like in Grandeur "and Dignity," consequently to style him "Dárá," as above, is totally incorrect, because it gives him the name of Darius, which was not his name.

Lhurí, not "Rhorí," or "Roree."*
Ubárah, not "Obarah," or "Aobara."
Lake Manch-hur,† not "Munchur."
Kin, and Kin-Kot.
Haidarábád, not "Hyderabad."
Lárkhánah, not "Larkana," or "Larkhana."
Noh-Shahrah, not "Nowsaharra."
Nowá-Derah, not "Nowa Dherra."
Karáchí, not "Currachee," or "Kurrachee."
Magar-Pír, not "Muggea Peer," etc., etc.

There are also certain words prefixed and affixed to the names of places in former maps, which are not only incorrectly written, as are thousands of others, but so written that persons unacquainted with three or four languages to which they belong, would naturally conclude that such words were part of the names of such places. For example:—"Chotee Bala," is correctly Chhotí-i-Bálá, or Higher Chhotí; and "Chotee Paen," is Chhotí-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Chhotí. These terms bálá and pá'ín are Persian words, in use in the Panjáb and Afghánistán, particularly in the western parts, but, in the north-eastern parts of the latter country, Pus'hto or Puk'hto words are used instead, namely, Bar, Upper; Lar and Kúz, Lower, as in "Bur Togue," which is an error for Bar or Upper Togh; "Kooz Pulosi," a mistake for Kúz or Lower Palosí; and "Bur Pulosi," an error for Bar or Upper Palosí.

"Durgah Murdan Shah," is an error for Dargah-i- (the shrine or tomb of) Mardán Sháh (*i.e.*, a Sayyid); "Khangah Ullhadad Khan," is an error for Khánkah-i- (the monastery or religious structure for Darweshis) of Allahdád Khán; "Ranza Khaja Noor Muhumud," is a blunder for Rauzah (the Mausoleum) -i-Khwájah (of the Khwájah) Núr Muhammad. Kabr also signifies a grave, but in many instances we find the words translated into tomb and grave. Again, the word "Goombut," is an error for Gumbaz or Gumbad, which signifies a dome or vault over a grave. Takht, not "Tukht," means a seat, a stage, any place raised above the ground.

Faj, 'Ukbah, Kotal, and Darah have been already described.

The word "Cha," in "Cha Sikundur," is a mistake for Cháh-i- (the well of, or dug by) Sikandar, a person so called; "Bughwanee Kulan," is correctly Baghwání Kalán, or Great Baghwání, as distinct from Baghwání Kúchak, or Little Baghwání. "Pooranee Lukhee" again is an error for Puráná or Old or Ancient Lakhí. The name of many places named Fath-púr is invariably written incorrectly "Futtehpoor" and "Fattahpúr."

As another specimen of the careless and incorrect mode of writing names of persons and places I find "Muhumud" and "Muhummud," and even "Mahomed," side by side. Close by the town styled "Naie Bela," in the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán, I find "Naewela Temple." The writer of that name could not realize the fact, apparently, that it was the temple of Naye (or New) Belah.

Such names as "Kullundur Oorf Dowlatpoor," constantly occur. These require to be remedied, or a key given in explanation, for who, unacquainted with the native languages, would conceive that it stood for the name of a place, Kalandar, *urf*, known as, commonly called, or *alias* Daulatpúr.

The words Rúd, river, and Áb, stream or water, and which also means river, might also be translated.

September 11th, 1878.

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* At times the letter *r* is used for *l* by some native people. It would then be Rhurí, but Lhurí is correct.
† Also written with long *ú*, Manchhúr.

SECTION SECOND.

The Route from Láhor to Kábul by the Khaibar Pass.

When I concluded the First Section of these Notes I intended to have begun this with the continuation of my account of the different passes in the range of Mihtar Sulímán, commencing from the Kowrah Pass, and going northwards to Pes'háwar; but, for the sake of convenience and utility at this crisis, I shall, instead, proceed to give an account of the various routes between Afghánistán and India, commencing with that from Láhor to Kábul by Pes'háwar and the Khaibar Pass, after which Kábul will be the starting point for various routes.

For the reason mentioned above, I shall confine myself here entirely to those routes through the tracts lying south of the river of Kábul, with the exception of such as are connected with the Khaibar route, leaving the account of the routes into the countries north of the river of Kábul, which are exceedingly important, for the Third Section of these Notes. By this arrangement I shall be able to end the last portion with an account of the passes in the Sulímán range, from north to south, and thus complete the account of them down as far as the Kowrah Pass above mentioned.

I would have given the details of the route from Láhor to Kábul entire, but, as they are not absolutely necessary here, I propose to commence from the point at which, according to fact, not theory, Afghánistán commences. I have details of routes through all parts of the Panjáb and the country west of Dilhí, which are most interesting, as showing the state of that part of our Empire just ninety years since, and which details it may be hereafter desirable to translate.

1. *From Láhor to Kábul*, 260 *kuroh westward.*

Proceeding by way of Wazír-ábád, Jhilam, Ruhtás, Mánikyálah, Ráwal Pindí, and Hasan-i-Abdál, Burhán is reached. "From this place two roads diverge. The left hand one is the Sháh Ráh, or King's Highway, but, at present (when the writer made his survey) it is closed through the contumacy of the Khatar tribe.* By this route the Fort of Atak is distant 15 kuroh. The right-hand road, which the writer followed, is as follows."

Errors enough are made in the mode of spelling proper names in our own territory, but those west of the Indus are so vitiated, and after so many different ways, that I will give the vernacular mode of writing them, as well as the transliterated names.†

"From Harú two kuroh west is the Burhán, a considerable stream, which comes from the mountain range on the right hand (north), in the eastern part of the Gakhar country, and, flowing towards the left (south), falls into the Sind or Indus near the town of Níl-áb. It may be forded in the cold season, at which time it is knee-deep. From the before-mentioned river, three kuroh north-west, is Khogíání,‡ a karyah (a village with the lands appertaining to it)§ named after an Afghán tribe, a portion of which, consisting of some 2,000 families, dwell in this part, which is also called Harú.‖ For the distance of a kuroh on either side of this river the country is much broken, and full of ascents and descents, and from here Afghánistán commences.¶

"From Khogíání one kuroh north-west, inclining north, is Nitopá,** also inhabited by the same tribe; and from thence a kuroh and half north, inclining north-west, is Hazrao, a cluster of three or four large villages belonging to the Afghán sept of Ghurghusht;†† and this is where the dároghah, or superintendent, of the Chachh Hazárah district is located.‡‡

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* The Khatar, the name of a Musalmán tribe dwelling in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, in the hill tracts east of the Indus. In ancient times the town of Níl-áb was the seat of Government of the tribe, and also Bhatút. Níl-áb still remains in their possession, but Bhatút is in ruins.

† The vernacular names have been omitted in printing.

‡ Khagwania of the maps.

§ Instead of using karyah hereafter I shall merely use village, as its meaning will be understood.

‖ Incorrectly written Hurroh in the maps.

¶ This is not quite correct according to Afghán, as well as other Musalmán authors; but here we find Afgháns dwelling, who have been forced forward, so to say, by other tribes on their west, across the Indus.

** "Nikoo" of the maps probably.

†† A very general term, for the Ghurghusht sept of Afgháns contains ninety-five tribes.

‡‡ Under the Durráni Government.

"The river Abáe Sind flows at a distance of about a kuroh to the north north-west of Hazrao, and there is a ford over it, which is called the patan or ford of Hazrao.*

"The inhabitants of Hazrao, for the most part, speak the Pus'hto or Afghán language, but some also speak the Panjábí dialect; the former, however, is their mother tongue.

"Half a kuroh south-west of Hazrao is the small village of Pír Dád, on the left-hand side of the road; and, on the right hand, mountains appear about two kuroh distant. Proceeding from thence, another half kuroh west, there are two villages on either side; that on the right hand is Bhatí, and that on the left hand Kálú. Near the road, on the right hand side, is the small village of Amín.† Having proceeded another kuroh and a half west, you reach two other villages, that on the right hand is called Malhú, and that on the left, which is a large one, Shams-ábád;‡ and, continuing onwards for another kuroh and a half west, you reach Kamál-púr and Waisah, two villages, not far off, on the right hand side of the road.

"Two kuroh west of these villages is the small village of Parmúlí,§ named after the clan claiming to be Afgháns; and on the left hand side are hills distant about two kuroh. Proceeding west for another two kuroh you reach Khairú-Khel,‖ a large village named after a section of an Afghán clan, situated close to the bank of the river Abáe Sind. Another kuroh farther westward is the well known patan or ford of Bázár, so called after the Afghán village of that name, on the west bank of the river, situated on a high khák-rez, or artificial mound, and distant from Khairú-Khel two kuroh west.¶ It can be plainly seen from a distance of three or four kuroh. Through the dissensions among the Afgháns here, the ford has now become for the most part obliterated.

"From this ford, a kuroh and a half south-west, inclining south, is the fort of Atak.** It is a strong place built by command of Akbar Bádsháh on the Abáe Sind; and the walls have been carried from the water's edge to the summit of the hills on the east. Its walls are built of stone and lime (mortar), in which are two gates and two sally-ports. The gateway on the west side is called the gate of Kábul, and from this gate to the river side is 100 paces; and in this space is a graveyard. The east gate is called the gate of Láhor, and these two gates are the only means of entrance and exit for travellers and the inhabitants. The western sally-port opens on the river, and is kept constantly shut, and the eastern one, which opens out on the top of the hill, is also kept secured."

It is stated that the ancient city, the remains of the buildings of which may be seen about half a kuroh east of the present Atak, was called Banáras. It is also stated that Rájah Bírbal, the Brahman, who perished in the great defeat which Akbar's troops sustained in Suwát from the Yúsufzí Afgháns, under whose superintendence the fort was built, gave it the name of Banáras. It is certainly not mentioned by the name of Atak in any history prior to the time of its construction by Akbar Bádsháh, and that the passage of the Abáe Sind was forbidden to Hindús by their religion is clearly disproved by their constant passage of it, both in the case of Akbar's troops and those of his successors, and by private individuals of that creed.††

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* This is an interesting fact, showing that the Indus, in this direction, has encroached towards the west. Hazrao is now just five miles from the bank of the river, which, at this point, is broader than in any other part of its course, its bed being three miles wide, and full of numerous islands. This broad part extends from Ata upwards to Tor-belah, but its broadest part is between Hazrao and Uhandh on the opposite bank. It is turne into "Hoond" in our maps. Uhandh is the site of an ancient city of great extent.

† Written "Hameed" in the maps. I have noticed in most instances, that where the correct name begi with *a* it is turned into *h* in the maps or an extra *h* prefixed, and, where the word really begins with *h*, *a* substituted in the maps.

‡ This has been incorrectly turned into "Shamshabad." The compiler of the map of course did not kno that Shams is the Persian name for the sun.

§ Turned into "Promlia" in the maps. Farmúlí and Parmúlí, *f* and *p* being interchangeable, is the w known name of a tribe and their country, subsequently noticed.

‖ "Kara-Khel" in the maps.

¶ Bázár is three miles distant from Khairú-Khel as the crow flies. Here again we have more interesti facts. Khairú-Khel is close to the bank of the Indus, but the ford no longer appears to exist.

** This name too has been vitiated into "Attok" and "Attock," even by those who say that it is deri from Sanskrit Atak, signifying, "bar," "obstacle," "obstruction," &c., and whence comes the well kno Hindí verb "ataknā," but we do not pronounce that "attockna" nor "attokna." When this same n occurs lower down the Panjáb it is turned into "Atuk."

Atak, when built, was considered a strong place, which it really was before artillery could be brou against it. Tímúr-i-Lang did not cross here, as some would make us believe, but Nádir Sháh, Afshár, did.

†† Those who put forward the theory that Hindús were prohibited by their religion from crossing to the of the Indus, probably did not know that Kábul was the capital of a Hindú kingdom when the Arabs invaded it; and that the Sultáns of Ghaznín had Hindú troops in their service.

"To the east of the site of the old city is the sepulchre of that holy man, Shaikh Yahyá, the Madaní. During the reign of Aurangzeb Bádsháh an edifice was erected over it, and an extensive *saráe*, or rest house for travellers, near it.*

"Near the fort of Atak are two small streams. That on the south side, which is near the Kábulí gate, is spanned by a bridge of burnt brick, and travellers going to Níl-áb pass over it. It is quite dry in the hot season. The other, which never fails, flows from the hills on the north side of the fort, and falls into the Abáe Sind. Adjoining the Láhorí gateway there is another brick bridge.

"The river at Atak is the width of sixteen boats (*i.e.*, it would require that number, according to the writer, to bridge it), and the mouth of the river of Kábul lies about half a kuroh to the north, where it joins the Sind, and loses its name. The village of Bázár, previously mentioned, can be seen from Atak, distant about three kuroh to the north.†

"On the opposite bank of the river, facing the fort of Atak, is another stone built fortification, erected by Nádir Sháh, Afshár, and they call it Khair-ábád. It lies on the left-hand side of the King's Highway.

"Having crossed the river by boat, with the little island of Kamálíah on the right hand, and the larger island of Jalálíah and the fort of Khair-ábád on the left, and proceeding a short distance northwards, you come to a little river, which flows from the left hand to the right, and joins the Abáe Sind. Having crossed it, on the north side of it is Khair-ábád. It was a large city in ancient times, but now, with the exception of a few Hindú grocers' shops, all is desolate and deserted. It lies within the jurisdiction of Yúsuf Khán, Khatak."

The high mountain facing Atak, and a little lower down than Khair-ábád, on the same side, rising up directly from the river, which washes its base, is Mount Hodaey, which gives its name to the whole range, stretching as far as Tí-ráh. There are many legends respecting Rájah Hodaey's castle, on the summit of the mount opposite Atak. Khushhál Khán, chief of the Khataks, in one of his poems, written while in exile in India, refers to the range in the following words,—

> 'Its dark mountain range of Hodaey runneth directly into the Tí-ráh country,
> And the Níl-áb and Landey have, wonderfully, laid their heads at its feet.
> The great high road of Hindústán and Khurásán is made along their banks;
> And by Atak lieth its ford, which both kings and beggars hold in dread,' &c., &c.

His eldest son, Ashraf Khán, who was also exiled and imprisoned by Aurangzeb in the fortress of Bíjá-púr in the Dakhan, where he died in 1693, aged 60 years, also mentions Mount Hodaey in one of his poems written in his prison. It is somewhat out of place to assert after this that the Afgháns have no patriotism—no love of country,—

> 'Of the pangs of separation I became deserving that day,
> When, weeping and sobbing, from my love I was severed.
> At that time, for my life, in tears of blood I mourned,
> When, turning my back upon Atak, I weeping began.
> How shall I now pine after the rocks and shrubs of my country?
> For, having made my parting salutation, I bade them farewell.
> Embedded in my heart, from Roh an arrow I brought away—
> I failed to bid adieu to my bower, or its sacrifice to become.
> With much toil, in the world I had a garden laid out;
> And, as yet, I had not smelt a flower, when from it I was torn
> The blue heavens laughed from delight until they grew red,
> When, facing Hodaey's mountain, I turned from it away,' &c., &c.
> (*See* my "Poetry of the Afgháns," pages 247 and 263.)

"Setting out from Khair-ábád, and proceeding one kuroh north-west, inclining north, you reach the dry bed of a river. In the rainy season it contains water, which flows from north towards the south, and falls into the Abáe Sind, south of Khair-ábád. Having entered it, and proceeding in it for half a kuroh, and then issuing from it and continuing your route for another kuroh and a half farther, you reach Nara'í, a large village on the bank of the river of Kábul, which river, one kuroh and a half farther to the east, falls into the Abáe Sind.

"The river of Kábul, in the Afghán dialect, is called the Landey Sín (*i.e.*, Little Sín, or River), in distinction from Abáe or Abá Sín (the Father River), and the Persian

* These are, or rather the remains of them were, standing in 1849; and I took up my quarters in the latter for a day or two, in June of that year, when Adjutant to a detachment in charge of 45 lakhs of treasure for the troops at Pes'háwar, which had to be got across the Indus in boats, together with 150 camels, 11 tumbrils, and 13 native carts, which conveyed it from the lower provinces. The transfer across the river was effected without the slightest accident.

† It is just six miles and a quarter.

speaking people call the former the Daryá or river of Kábul, river of Jalál-ábád, and river of Lamghán; but, as the water of the Abáe Sind, from the quantity of earth with which it is impregnated, appears of a whitish colour, and the water of the Landey Sín, from its transparency, of a blue colour, the latter is also called the Níl-áb or Blue Water, or River. The village of Bázár, on the opposite side of the river, is visible from Nara'í, and is rather less than three kuroh distant on the right hand (west).

"From Nara'í, two kuroh farther, in the same direction as before (north-west, inclining north), is Shaidú, another large village on the banks of the river of Kábul; and on the left hand, at some distance, mountains appear. Between Nara'í and Khair-ábád there are also lesser mountains (hills), which lie on the right-hand side of the road.

"Three kuroh west from Shaidú, is Akorah, a considerable town, on the bank of the same river, the seat of authority of Yúsuf Khán, the Khatak chief. The fort of Akorah, which is not devoid of strength, lies on the opposite bank of the river, north of the town. North of the fort again is a long hill running east and west, rising abruptly from the plain, and under it, on the Akorah side, is the village of Misrí or Misrí Bánda'h. From Akorah two roads diverge, and, following that on the right hand, you cross the river at this point to go to the Do-ábah, Hasht Nagar, Shab Kadr, Buner, and Suwát. The left-hand route is as follows. Six kuroh west of Akorah is the Kalaey of Sháh-báz Khán, a small village on the river's bank. From Atak to this place the rule of the Khataks extends. They are subject and pay obedience to Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Bádsháh of Kábul. *Kalaey*, in the Afghán language, signifies a village with its lands; and, in the Turkí dialect, *kalah*, which must not be mistaken for it, means a village and its lands, which, after having been ruined and deserted, is again peopled and cultivated.

"West of the Kalaey of Sháh-báz Khán, one kuroh and a half is Noh-s'hahra'h, two large villages lying on either bank of the river of Kábul. That on the north bank they call Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Hasht Nagar, and its inhabitants are Muhammadzí Afgháns. Two hills, rising abruptly from the plain, lie about half a kuroh to the north-east. The village on the south bank is styled Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h, and is inhabited by Tájzíks.* Two kuroh south of this place is the small village of Budrúsh, lying in the hills, and in that village is the tomb of Bábá Rahm Kár, which holy man they also style the Shaikh of Alingár. He was a pious man, and the Afgháns, who greatly venerate him, are his disciples.

"From Noh-s'hahra'h, two kuroh and a half west, inclining south-west, is Pír-páe, a large village belonging to the Dá'údzí Afgháns. The river of Kábul lies half a kuroh distant on the right hand. From the last-named village, one kuroh and a half farther on in the same direction, is Azí Khel,† which lies at some distance from the road on the left hand. From thence, proceeding another kuroh and a half, still keeping in the same direction, you reach Dágí, which also lies on the left-hand side of the road. A quarter kuroh west from thence is the bánda'h or village of Baní—Baní Bánda'h‡—which also lies on the left-hand side of the road. Another kuroh farther west is Pabbián,§ a considerable village. From this place two roads diverge. That on the right hand leads to Hasht Nagar and the Do-ábah by the Do-bandí ferry, while the left-hand road—the King's Highway—goes on to Pes'háwar.

"From Pabbián, one kuroh in the same direction as before, is Sháh-ábád, an extensive *rabát*‖ of burnt brick, but now in ruins. Another kuroh farther on is the village of Tiráhián,¶ and from thence another kuroh farther on is Turná, and another two kuroh farther, still, keeping west, is Chamkaní.** This is a good sized town, called after the small Afghán tribe of that name, which is located in the hills south-west

* Jahán-gír Bádsháh crossed the river on a raft, when he went to Kábul in 1016 H. (A.D. 1607–8), and disembarked above the confluence of the river of Kábul with the Indus. He says in his Autobiography: "Getting on a raft with some of the most confidential of my courtiers, we passed the Níl-áb and disembarked on "the banks of the Kámah, which is the river that flows from the other side (north) of Jalál-ábád. A raft is a "structure formed of (a platform of) bámbús, and grass or straw, and beneath it inflated skins are placed. "This machine they here call '*shál*;' and, in rivers where there are many rocks or boulders, the raft is much "better, and much safer than a boat. Making one stage (*i.e.*, bringing up the raft) by the way, we disembarked "at the halting place of Bárah, opposite Bárah Saráe. On the other side of the Kámah is a fort built by "Khán, Kokah, and named Noh-s'hahra'h."

† Mis-spelt "Aza Khel" in the Indian Atlas map.

‡ Turned into "Bunda Bala" in the maps.

§ "Pubbi" of the maps.

‖ One of those large caravansaries (kárwán-saráe) or inns for travellers, erected by the rulers of Dihlí in former years, of which several remain (or did a few years ago) more or less dilapidated, between Láhor, Pes'háwar, and Kábul.

¶ Incorrectly written "Tazadeen" in the maps.

** "Chumkunni" of the maps.

the Paiwar Kotal, mentioned farther on. It is also called Chamkaní of Mullá Muhammad-i-'Azíz, a God-fearing and holy man, whose tomb—a building of some size—is near the town, which looks a very pleasant and pretty place with the trees around it, as the traveller passes along. Up to this day the descendants of this reputed saint occupy his position, and devote themselves to the welfare of the inhabitants, and the people of the country round are their disciples. The revenue of this town, together with that of several villages, is assigned (was when the author wrote) for the support of the shrine.

"From Chamkaní three kuroh south-west is Pes'háwar.

"This is a large city of Afghánistán under the rule of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, and here all the precious and useful commodities of various countries are disposed of, and hither come the merchants of Írán, Túrán, and Hind, to buy and sell.

"To the west, adjoining the city, is a fortress of burnt brick, called the Bálá Hisár; and, by a cut from the Nahr-i-Sháhí or Sháh's Canal, water enough to turn three or four water-mills, if necessary, has been carried to the gardens and cultivated lands to the south and east of the city.

"On the way to the city this canal crossed the road. It has been cut from the river of Kábul, near Mícharna'í, at a point where the river issues from the western mountains into the plain of Pes'háwar. Previous to the time I write, this canal used to rejoin the aforesaid river near the village of Dilazák, but Tímúr Sháh had a large cut excavated, and brought the water farther on, into the lands near to the town of Chamkaní, and gave it the name of Nahr-i-Sháhí. A special dároghah, or superintendent, is appointed to the charge of this canal, which yields a considerable sum yearly to the State funds. The water of the Bárah river is also under the control of this same official.

"Wherever a fall of water can be obtained, the people here cut canals, and convey the water to the lands, and the revenue derived from them goes to the State.

"The Khatak and Afrídí hills lie about five or six kuroh from the city, on the left-hand side (the south), but those on the right hand are much farther off."

When the great division of the Afghán people known as the Khas'hí or Khak'hí sept, and comprising the great tribes of Yúsufzí and Mandar, Tarkalární, and Gagyání, and their Muhammadzí and Jzadún allies, were driven out of the tracts in the neighbourhood of Kábul, after the slaughter of their chiefs and notables by command of Mírzá Ulugh Beg, the Kábulí, Bábar's uncle, and set out eastward in search of a new home and place of sojourn, the plain of Pes'háwar, the Do-ábah, Kálah Parní,—the district east of the Kal-Pární river, which joins the river of Kábul a few miles east of Noh-s'hahra'h,—half of Bájawr, Tí-ráh, and great part of Nangrahár, were in possession of the great tribe of Dilazák Afgháns;* and they, at the prayer of the then helpless and homeless Khak'hís, assigned them the Do-ábah district to dwell in, much to the delight of the Khak'hís. The Dilazáks had, in bygone times, been forced, by the forward pressure of other tribes, to remove into the parts just mentioned from Nangrahár, but some say from the present Wazírí country, which is not correct.

When the Khas'hís issued from the Khaibar defile, Ash-naghar, now known as Hasht-

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* Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., according to Captain Plowden, considers these Karlární Afgháns to be "Rajputs," and thinks that "their name of Dilazáks points to their original religion as Buddhists, Saki being "the name by which the disciples of Sakiamuni were formerly known in Yúsufzaí." Who is the authority for this opinion?

Afghán writers, as well as Bábar Bádsháh, Humáyún, Jahán-gír Bádsháh, and Abú-l-Fazl, say they are Afgháns.

The late Major H. James, on the other hand, considered the Dilazáks "the same race as that which peopled "the Panjáb, and became afterwards known as Sikhs. They are related to have been a strong and powerful "race, and worshippers of idols."—"Church Missionary Intelligencer," August 1854.

Was the Punjáb, then, not peopled before the Dilazáks moved to the east side of the Indus? If so, it must have been very recently peopled, because the Dilazáks only began to take up their quarters on the east side in the time of Bábar Bádsháh, who often mentions the "Dilazák Afgháns," and previous to his conquest of the Dihlí kingdom, at which period, and long prior, they were good Musalmáns. But I do not think any authority can be produced to show that they are either called Rájpúts, Scythians, or Sikhs.

I sent a person some few years since into Chachh Hazárah, where some still dwell, to make inquiries respecting them, a genealogical tree of their descent being in my possession. The following is an extract from his report to me:—

"I held a conversation with some Dilazáks at a place east of Hazrao. I said: "It nas been asserted that the "'Dilazáks are of 'Arab descent, and not Afgháns.' They replied: 'None but the ignorant could have made "'such a statement. We are Afgháns, and are of the Kir-rai sept (*i.e.*, Karlárnís). Akbar Bádsháh caused "'the greater part of the tribe to be removed into Hindústán from this district, and settled them at and around "'Shujá'-púr.' I inquired: 'Are they still to be found there?' They replied: 'Yes, some are still to be "'found there, but the tribe has become much dispersed.'"

Khushhál Khán Khán, Khatak, himself an Afghán, calls them Afgháns, as do many other writers.

Nagar, was in the possession of the Dihgán tribe of Shalmánís, who came originally from Shalmán (*i.e.*, Shalúzán) and Karmán,* which are dependencies of Tí-ráh, and they were subjects of Sultán Pakhal, sovereign of Suwát and its dependencies, of the dynasty of the Jahán-gírián Sultáns, of whom I shall give an account in my proposed history of Afghánistán and the Afgháns, whose capital was Manglawar, in Upper Suwát, a large and populous city, the ruins of which, in the shape of most substantial and well-built structures, may still be seen near the present village of that name.†

The Dilazáks were a numerous, wealthy, powerful, warlike, and independent tribe of Afgháns, yet in a few years subsequent to the arrival of the Khak'hís, and soon after the advent in those parts of the Ghwaríah Khel, the rivals of the former, with whom they were at feud, and comprising the five tribes of Khalíl, Mahmand, Dá'údzí, Chamkaní, and Zeráni (but the two latter did not settle in the Pes'háwar plain),‡ after sustaining several defeats, were under the necessity of retiring to the east bank of the Indus, and settled in Hazárah and the tracts north of Atak, where numbers of them are still located. This event happened in the time of Bábar Bádsháh, when the Khas'hís defeated the Dilazáks in the neighbourhood of Kátlang, and compelled them to retire into the two Hazárahs, so called, across the Indus, which tract was also included among their territories. Subsequently, in Humáyún Bádsháh's reign, when his brother, Mírzá Kámrán, held the fief of the countries west of the Indus, the Ghwaríah Khel overthrew them at Sultán-púra'í, and obtained possession of the whole country south of the river of Kábul, from Jam-rúd and Pes'háwar to the Indus. During the next two or three reigns of the Mughal sovereigns of Dilhí, the Dilazáks were nearly all compulsorily removed farther into India, on account of their raids on their enemies and on the country round, and their strength became completely broken, and the tribe dispersed. Numbers of them, in small communities, are still to be found scattered over parts of the Indian peninsula.

Bábar Bádsháh repeatedly mentions Pes'háwar by the name of Bagrám. In his day the rhinoceros was common in the *jangals* of the district. On one occasion he found and killed one in a small wood near the township. Jahán-gír Bádsháh also says that he hunted the rhinoceros in the Bagrám district, in company with his father, Akbar.

The A'ín-i-Akbarí states that the old name of Pes'háwar was Bagrám, and it was also called by that name, even at the time that the Shaikh Abú-l-Fazl wrote that work. The district, likewise, which was a dependency of the Sarkár or province of Kábul, was called the Bagrám Tomán. In more early times, however, it was called Burshábúr, and Purshábúr,§ or at least what is supposed to refer to the same place, and down to nearly recent times it was called Pas'háur and Pes'hour.

The Sayyid, Ghulám Muhammad, who was sent on two occasions by the Government of India, during the time of Governor Hastings, to Kábul, to the Court of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, and which journeys I shall again refer to, says Pes'háwar used, in times bygone, to be styled Shahr-i-Sabz (the Green City; this is not impossible, as a by-name, on account of the greenness and fertility of the parts around), and the province Bakhtar, or the East (with reference probably to other parts of what constituted Afghánistán when he wrote), and that it is distant from Kábul one hundred and ten kos.‖

I now return to the account of the route.

"Three kuroh west of Pes'háwar is Tahkál, the name and site of an ancient city; and it is said that this city was the capital and chief place of the district before the founding of Pes'háwar.¶ At present, with the exception of a few families, the place i[s] depopulated, and in ruins. A curious building, like that at Mánikyálah, called th[e] Bádsháh's *Top* by the people of this part, lies some distance in front of the presen[t] village, on the right hand. It is somewhat dilapidated.

"The water of the Bárah river, which comes from the left hand (from the south-west), is diffused by means of numerous cuts throughout the cultivated lands of th[e]

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* *See* pages 81 and 82.

† *See* my "Account of Suwát," page 21.

‡ Except a few families at Chamkaní, as mentioned in the preceding page.

§ *See* my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," pages 76 and 77.

‖ The author of the Nasab Námah says that, in his time, there were very few Afgháns dwelling in [...] close to the city, as in these days, and that a great number of the inhabitants of the city were of a race sty[led] Kalál, who in Hindústán act as *chobdárs*, or mace-bearers, horse brokers, and jockeys. In the old Pers[ian] *kalál*, with short *a*, signifies a seller of wine, and *kulál*, with short *u*, a potter. Besides these, he says, m[any] other different races live there, and some intermarry; consequently, the inhabitants are of a very mixed rac[e].

¶ I have not heard what success has attended the excavations which, it was lately stated, were to be car[ried] on at Tahkál, but, from all accounts, this place would seem to be either the site of Bagrám, or of a place [...] more ancient.

district. It flows towards the right hand, and also irrigates the gardens and fields around and north of the city of Pes'háwar.*

"Proceeding west from Pes'háwar, there are numerous ascents and descents, and lofty mountains show themselves both to the right and to the left. The Spín Ghar range, which is covered with snow at all times, and upon whose slopes the Afrídí Afghâns dwell, shows itself on the left hand, above the other mountains, a long way off. This mountain range is also called the Koh-i-Tí-ráh, or Tí-ráh range, and it is of vast altitude.

"On the right hand, near by, is the mountain of Tahtarah, behind which the route so named, hereafter to be mentioned, lies. The Khaibar defile lies farther to the left hand.

"The village of Mícharna'í, near which place the river of Kábul issues from the mountains, lies twelve kuroh on the right hand, on the opposite side of that river. The village of Yalam Guzr, or the village of Yalam-ford, giving name to the ford, near which the Bárah river issues from the mountains into the plain, lies about five kuroh on the left hand.

"From Tahkál, four kuroh south-west, is Jam-rúd,† a large village, founded, according to tradition, by Jamshed Bádsháh, and a portion of the water of the Bárah river has been brought to the lands belonging to it.‡ From Jam-rúd the villages of Yalam Guzr and Mícharna'í lie about five kuroh on the right hand and left respectively.

"The country, from Noh-s'hahráh to this place (Jam-rúd) is called the Khálisáh of Pes'háwar.§

"From Jam-rúd two roads diverge, that on the left hand is called the Khaibar, and that on the right hand the Tahtarah route, which is difficult, and rather the longer of the two. Near Bísh Bulák or Bulágh‖ (Turkish words signifying Five Springs), it again joins the Sháh Ráh, or King's Highway, by the Khaibar. At the time that Nádir Sháh, Afshár, marched from Kábul on his advance to Dihlí, Násir Khán, the Súbah-dár of Kábul, who had collected a large army, took up his position near (in front of) Jam-rúd, in an entrenched camp, and supposed that he had effectually closed it. Nádir despatched 20,000 cavalry, guided by an Afrídí named Sarwar Khán, by this very route of Tahtarah, which force appeared in the rear of Násir Khán's army one morning just about dawn, attacked it unawares, and completely finished his affairs, while Nádir Sháh, himself, with the main body, advanced through the Khaibar pass, and encamped near Pes'háwar."

The author is mistaken as to the route followed by Nádir Sháh on this occasion, and is not correct in his version of that affair. There are two other accounts, but the Táríkh-i-Nádirí, which, however, at times eschews dates, says that Nádir Sháh having marched from Gandamak (as related farther on under the name of that place), after meeting with great opposition in the defiles and on the hills along the route, detached a force from thence, in advance, towards Jalál-ábád to occupy that place, while Nádir Sháh himself, with the bulk of his army, pitched his camp at Bihár-i-Siflah, or Bihár-i-Pá'ín, Lower Bihár, five farsakhs from Jalál-ábád.

Here he was rejoined by the troops which had been sent against Balkh, which had surrendered, and the Prince, Nasr-ullah, was now left in charge of the camp, the war materials, baggage, &c., while Nádir Sháh in person, early one afternoon (no date is given), at the head of a veteran force, set out by way of Sih-Jo-íab, over hills elevated like the heavens, and on the morning of the following day, two hours after dawn, having made a forced march of 30 farsakhs, fell upon Násir Khán and his army like a sudden calamity. Such is the version given by Nádir's Secretary, the Mírzá Muhammad Mahdí of Astar-ábád.

The more correct version is as follows:—Nádir Sháh marched from Bihár-i-Siflah, or Lower Bihár, to Jalál-ábád, and proceeded five farsakhs east of it, and encamped. A force, numbering 12,000 men (cavalry), was detailed to form the van column, and 3,000 to escort the camp baggage, war materials, and followers. The van moved on two stages towards Pes'háwar,—unfortunately the names of the stages are not given,—

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* These remarks are interesting as showing the state of the district nearly a century since, and for comparison with its present condition.

† The present fort at Jam-rúd was built by the Sikhs, and called Fath-púr, about half a mile nearer to Pes'háwar than the village of Jam, which, when the Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad went to Kábul by that route was peopled. Now the ruins of the village form only a confused looking mound of rubbish.

‡ A great change has taken place since the author wrote. The Jam-rúd, or the Jam river or stream, which rises in the Khaibar defile near La'l Beg, and receives two smaller streams south of 'Alí Masjid, flows past the village and fort of Jam-rúd, to which it gives the name, towards the Nahr-i-Sháhí, previously mentioned. The Jam is mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh and other writers.

§ Lands held directly from the Government are called khálisah lands.

‖ "Pesh Bolacke" and "Pesh Bolak," in the latest maps, and, consequently, totally meaningless.

but Nádir's forces met with the most determined resistance on the part of the Yúsufzís and other Afghán tribes, who held the Kazil-báshís at bay for over a month, when a Wurakzí Afghán, Sarwar by name, guided Nádir, at the head of 12,000 men, over the mountains to the south, by Sih-jo-íah and Bázár, through the valley of the Tí-ráh river, who suddenly appeared in the rear of Násir Khán's army, which was posted in front of Jam-rúd to prevent the Kazil-báshís from issuing from the pass.*

Another account is, that a Wurakzí Malik took Nádir Sháh by the Chúrah route, which is much the same, and a third is that the Wurakzí guided him over the Spín-Ghar range, and brought him into the same route that Amír Tímúr, the Gurgán, took when he invaded Hindústán, by Shalúzán and Karmán. If Nádir made his forced march from Bihár-i-Siflah, he would have got into Shalúzán and Karmán, but, even then, he would have had to pass down the valley of the Tí-ráh river to get to Jam-rúd, while Tímúr turned off to the south from those places towards Bannú, when he was on the way to Dihlí. The distance, too, over the Spín Ghar, by Shalúzán, and then through the Tí-ráh valley, would be much over 30 farsakhs or leagues, and could not have been done in the time mentioned in such a mountainous country.

From this it appears that the Yúsufzís and their confederates closed the Khaibar route against Nádir Sháh so effectually, that, in order to get the bulk of his army and equipage through, being unable to force his passage by a front attack, he had to endeavour, by a flank movement, to fall upon their rear. While the Yúsufzís held the defiles, Násir Khán's position was strong enough, but, after it had been forced, the Afgháns in the pass, probably fearing they might be attacked from two sides, retired, and thus was the cumbrous part of the Kazil-básh army enabled to get through. This is a lesson we may take counsel from.

Násir Khán was taken completely by surprise; his army was put to flight, himself and the greater number of his officers were made prisoners; and his camp, equipage, and military stores fell into the hands of the Kazil-báshís.

Before returning to the account of the route by the Khaibar Pass to Kábul, as given in the Sair-ul-Bilád, it may not be amiss to give a brief account of a few of the many military events in connexion with it and with Pes'háwar. I gave a somewhat detailed account of the Pes'háwar province and city, at the time of the annexation of the Panjáb, in 1849, which appeared in the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society" for 1852, and need not enter into much geographical detail here.

History shows that the Khaibar route was seldom used by the earlier conquerors and invaders of India, those routes which I shall give an account of farther on being preferred. When the Macedonian Alexander invaded the Panjáb, the division "under "Hephæstion and Perdiccas, accompanied by Taxiles," which division is said to have been "conducted to the Indus through Peucaliotes," possibly referring to the Pes'háwar district, may have come, and very possibly did, by the Khaibar, but Alexander himself kept along the northern bank of the river of Kábul. Mahmúd, Sultán of Ghaznín, came through the Khaibar once, according to the Muhammadan writers, but on all other occasions he followed other routes. On the occasion in question he had an object in doing so—to encounter Rájah Jai-Pál, whose forces were concentrated in the Pes'háwar district.† Bábar and Humáyún passed through the Khaibar upon more than one occasion, and how Nádir came has been just related. Ahmad Sháh, Sadozí, Abdálí, came through it upon one or two occasions, as did his grandson, Sháh-i-Zamán, who invaded the Panjáb several times. These are the only occasions of invaders following the Khaibar route, and its difficulties were doubtless the cause. Nádir Sháh returned from Dihlí to Kábul by that route, but, subsequently when proceeding into Sind from thence, he took the route by Bangas'h.

Humáyún Bádsháh, who, in 959 H. (A.D. 1552), had entered the Panjáb, with th[e] intention of undertaking a campaign against the Afghán usurpers of his kingdom, having abandoned the attempt for a more favourable occasion, recrossed the Indu[s] north of the Atak, and reached Pas'háur. Báyazíd, the Byát Mughal, who was [in] Humáyún's service as Bakáwal Bígí, and followed his master's fortunes through a

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* *See* the Eighth Route, page 94.

† Colonel Malleson, C. S. I., in his "History of Afghánistán from the earliest Times," just issued, has m[ade] a slip with respect to the Khaibar Pass and Pes'háwar Valley, as a writer can hardly fail to do who mer[ely] compiles from translations. Referring to the defeat of Jai-Pál by the Amír, Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Ti[gín,] he states (page 55) that "Sabaktagín marched from Ghazní, towards Pesháwar," while "Jaipál march[ed] from Láhor "to the Pesháwar plain, and took up a position at Laghmán. Upon him here encam[ped] "Sabaktagín issued from the Khaibar pass." Laghmán or Lamghán—the name is written both ways[—is] a district on the northern bank of the river of Kábul, and some miles west of Jalál-ábád.

their vicissitudes, composed a history of those events, which was dedicated to Akbar. His work contains some very interesting and valuable details respecting Humáyún's wanderings and expeditions and residence in the Kábul province, which I shall give extracts from as I proceed. Báyazíd also says that Pas'haur is called Bagrám; and that, "when Humáyún reached it, he directed that the fortress there should be repaired; "and all his force was employed in the work. It was completed in seven days; and the "corn of the Dilazák Afgháns—they were faithful subjects of the Bádsháh, and he was "well pleased with them—was reaped and stored there for security."

This was at the period that the Yúsufzís, and the other tribes of the Khas'hí sept, had become so powerful; but the Ghwaríah Khel had not yet arrived in the Pes'háwar district, but came soon after. Humáyún appointed an Uzbak officer, Sikandar, by name, as its governor, but Báyazíd says he was a Kazák.

About three years after the great battle at Shaikh Patúr, between the rival septs of Khas'hí and Gharí,* when Khán Kajú, the supreme chief of the former, overthrew and broke the power of the latter, he marched an army to Pes'háwar from the present Yúsufzí district of the Sama'h, on the north side of the river of Kábul, and invested Sikandar Khán, Uzbak, in the fortress of Bagrám. Khán Kajú had neither artillery nor fire-arms, indeed, such weapons appear to have been unknown to his followers, although Bábar Bádsháh had a few guns at Pánípat, and Sher Sháh, the Afghán sovereign of Hindústán, had used them, previous to this time, at the siege of Kálinjar. The Yúsufzí army, consequently, could effect nothing against Bagrám, and Khán Kajú gave up the investment.

The Shaikh Abú-l-Fazl says:—"There are five routes from Hindústán into the Sarkár or Province of Kábul, one of which is the Karappah route. . . . . The next is the Khaibar, and, formerly, it was exceedingly difficult, but, by the Bádsháh's (Akbar's) command, it was so improved by Kásim Khán, who had the superintendence of the work, that the road, which before that time was so difficult, even for horses and camels, wheeled carriages could pass over with ease, and the Túránís and Hindís generally use it.† In 997 H. (A.D. 1589), Akbar, after the road had been finished, proceeded to Kábul. He crossed the Sind river at Khair-ábád Saráe, and marched to Garhí Ilyás, then to the Gur-Khatrí (of Pes'háwar), and from thence to Dhákah. His next stages were Khwájah Yakút, the Jal-gáh of Safed-Sang, Bárík-Áb, and Kábul."

To continue the account of the Khaibar route.

"There are two routes from Jam-rúd to 'Alí Masjid through the Khaibar mountains, about one kuroh apart, which meet again near 'Alí Masjid, distant from Jam-rúd five kuroh.‡ The right hand one is called the Kotal of Shádí Bagyára'í,§ and, two kuroh from Jam-rúd, beneath the Kotal, is a post of the Afrídí Afgháns. The defile is much more confined than that to the left, and is only fit for men on foot, and camels. It leads by Sur-kamar across the Shaga'í plain.‖

"The left-hand road, and that usually followed by the Durrání troops, runs by the

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* The Ghwaríah Khel, for brevity, is written Ghwarí. They are not "Ghoris," nor "Ghúrís. What they are I have already stated.

† They scarcely ventured to use any other, and even that was continually closed against them by the Afgháns, as I shall mention farther on.

‡ When the Afgháns encountered the Sikhs, in April, 1837, on which occasion the latter lost their leader, Harí Singh, the Afgháns took up their position at Chatákí, while Harí Singh took post at Par Katah, which is a *nálah*, or cut from the Bárah river, and about half way between Jam-rúd and the Pes'háwar cantonment.

§ Shádí Batyára'í appears to have been the former and more correct name of the road, and it is said to have been so called after the Afghán Khel named Batyárí, dwelling in the Khaibar hills. They are referred to by Afzal Khán, Khatak, Khushhál Khán's grandson. A large portion of the Khaibar hills is held by the Mulágorí Afgháns. "Shadi Bagadi" is the mode in which a person ignorant of the Pus'hto language would write the name.

‖ When the late Colonel Sir C. M. Wade forced the Khaibar Pass, in July, 1839, with a mere handful of British Indian troops—380 men—consisting of a detachment of Native Horse Artillery, and four companies of the 21st and 22nd Bengal Native Infantry, and the raw levies enlisted for the service of the Sháh Shujá'-ul-Mulk, which made up his force to 4,000 men, with a few small guns, and a body of Sikh troops, whose hearts were not in the cause, numbering about 6,000 men more, his chief efforts were directed to the left hand or southern route into the Khaibar, by the bed of the Jam river from Kadam, which is that here referred to by Abú-l-Fazl, while a party under Lieutenant Mackeson (who was assassinated at Pes'háwar in after years) was sent by the Shádí-Bagyára'í route, which is shorter, but described as being a more confined pass, and only adapted for foot passengers and camels. This road has been lately improved.

Having carried the heights, the Colonel's force, on the 24th of July, encamped below La'l Chiney, and on the 25th, towards morning, a party pushed forward silently, from the positions gained after some sharp skirmishing during the day, and found 'Alí Masjid had been evacuated, just as we found it lately.

bed of the Jam river* near the village of Kadam, in the vicinity of which are some curious *smats* or caves. The stream rises in the mountains west of the Garhí or Tower of La'l Beg, and passes under the hill on which 'Alí Masjid stands.

"Proceeding from Jam-rúd by the left hand, or proper Khaibar route, five kuroh west, you reach 'Alí Masjid, so called after a small dilapidated masjid near the road. The fort named after it stands on the summit of a conical and almost isolated hill, in a commanding position, but the hills around overlook it.†

"From 'Alí Masjid, four kuroh west, is the Garhí or Tower of La'l Beg,‡ and a village, so called, lying on the right-hand side of the road. Here the hills open out a little on either side. Other villages, perched in the hills with a tower to protect them, are seen as you pass along.

"About half a kuroh before reaching the Garhí of La'l Beg you pass close to a large manár, which they call a *Top*, on the right hand side, like that at Mánikyálah, only this one stands on three square basements, the lowest being the largest, and out of these rises the *Top* of Shpola'h. It is built of a dark bluish stone, similar to the rocky spur from the mountains on which it stands, but one side of it has begun to give way. Near it, and extending nearly half a kuroh lower down the spur, on the north side, are the extensive remains of an ancient city.§ There are remains of buildings and houses, substantially built of stone, and the walls, some of which are about two *gaz* thick, are still standing to the height of three or four *gaz*. Idols, implements of bygone times, and coins are found among these ruins; and there are also the remains of several wells about the spot.

"One kuroh to the westward the Landey Khána'h Kotal commences. The road thus far is not very bad, being alternate ascent and descent, of no great elevation, over a stony road, and gradually ascending, but the Kotal itself commences with a sudden and abrupt ascent. The defile is narrow and difficult, in several places overhung with rocks, and with continual patches of tall grass every here and there, growing to the height of a man, or even higher. Farther on, the road winds along the mountain side on the right hand, with precipices on the left. The rise from the commencement of the ascent to the west of the Kotal is half a kuroh, and the descent is also very sudden. You descend to the small village of Landey Khána'h, giving name to the defile,‖ and which lies just under it. From thence, two kuroh in the same direction, is the small village of Gharíb Khána'h. The river of Kábul lies about three or four kuroh on the right hand, screened by the mountains."¶

This defile, in former times, was called the Gharíb Khána'h Kotal, and was the scene of the disastrous battle between the Mughals and the Afgháns, in which Aurangzeb's Súbah-dár was overthrown and his army annihilated. I will relate it briefly, but the accounts of the various battles and operations in and around the Khaibar, Tahtarah, and Karappah passes would almost fill a volume, and these historical details must be left for my history of the Afghán nation now under preparation.

Some soldiers serving under Husain Beg Khán, who was Fowj-dár, or Commandant of the Bádsháh's troops in the Kúnaṛ district, had insulted a woman of the Sáfí tribe of Afgháns, who had come to the place at which they were stationed to buy and sell.

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* The lower portion of this river's bed is dry, except after heavy rains in the hills, but then the river comes down suddenly and with violence. This was the case in March 1849, when it rushed down in one great wave, and swept away some of the tents in the lines of our Bombay column, which was pitched in the bed of the river, and even endangered the lives of some of the men.

† At 'Alí Masjid a spider was seen by Jahán-gír Bádsháh which he says "was as large as a crab, and had a "very long and thin neck. It caused great astonishment to those who beheld it."

‡ It is also called the Garhí of Lalah Beg. La'l signifies "a ruby" in the Persian language.

§ These are the remains of a Buddhist city, and, probably, of a Bihár or Wihár likewise. These remains are very much like those on the Takht-i-Bihí, the intervals between the larger stones being filled with lines of thin stone, instead of lime, and fitted in with the greatest nicety. The stone used for the Shpola'h Top is blue slate, but on the Takht-i-Bihí the buildings are of a yellowish red sandstone. I visited the Takht-i-Bihí in December, 1849, and gave a brief description of it in my "Account of the Pes'háwar Province," previously alluded to.

The site of this city near the Garhí of La'l Beg offers a new field for antiquarian research, and by excavating here some interesting discoveries would doubtless be made.

‖ This is known to history as the Gharíb Khána'h Kotal, as I shall presently show. Khána'h here is evidently the shortened form of rúd-khána'h, which signifies the bed of a river or stream, as well as the stream itself; and Landey is the Pus'hto adjective signifying "short," "brief," "little," "small," etc.

¶ The distance from Pes'háwar to Dhákah in English miles is as follows:—From Pes'háwar to Jam-rúd 11 miles; Jam-rúd to 'Alí Masjid, 11 miles; 'Alí Masjid to Landey Khána'h, 13 miles; and from Landey Khána'h to Dhákah, 9 miles. These distances may be useful for comparing with the distances given in kuroh in these routes, and calculating other distances.

Some Sáfís, who are a very pugnacious tribe, and have for centuries been continually at feud with the Sulímán Khel Ghalzís, although reports from Jalál-ábád would make us believe their feuds to be quite a new thing, avenged the insult given to their clans-woman by killing the soldiers, and succeeded in getting off.

Husain Beg Khán called upon the Sardárs of the Sáfí tribe to seize the men and deliver them up to him. This they refused to do. Other Afghán tribes subject to the Kábul Government were summoned to join him in attacking the "refractory" Sáfís, killing them, burning their villages, and rendering their women and children homeless. They attended him as in duty bound, but sent word to the Sáfís, their countrymen, to tell them that they considered they had acted like men. They gave them a hint of what they might expect, and let them know that they would not draw sword for the Mughals against them, but remain passive spectators. This they did, and Husain Beg Khán was completely foiled. He then attempted to seize the Sardárs of the Afgháns along with him, but their clansmen crowded around them and prevented it.

On this he dispatched an exaggerated and one-sided report of the affair to the Súbah-dár, Muhammad Amín Khán, who held the office, nominally, of Mír Bakhshí likewise, and who was then at Pas'háur. He was the son of the diamond merchant, Mír Jumlah, Wazír of 'Abd-ullah, Kutb Sháh, of Gulkandah, in the Dakhan, whom the bigoted tyrant, Aurangzeb-i-'Alam-gír, took such a fancy to and raised to the highest rank in the State. Muhammad Amín Khán, a very dissolute person, was exceedingly arrogant and overbearing; no one dared to give an opinion contrary to his wishes, and he was much disliked. This Husain Beg Khán, likewise, was not held in much esteem by the Afgháns. It is related that on one occasion, when about to march from Jam-rúd to Kábul, the Afghán chiefs of the mountains came to pay their respects to the representative of their ruler. He was intoxicated at the time, and Husain Beg Khán was with him. The latter, seeing the Afgháns in attendance, said to him, "The Nawwáb's dogs desire to make their obeisance." This speech afterwards came to the ears of the Afgháns, and aroused their indignation still more against the Mughals.

At the time this report reached Muhammad Amín Khán, it was about the season for him to return to Kábul, and the Afgháns resolved to oppose his march through the Khaibar, well knowing that he was coming full of hostile intent towards them, and that the opportunity was not to be lost. They accordingly occupied the strongest points in different parts of the route before he began his march. The Shinwárís and Mahmands, within whose boundaries part of the Khaibar lies, also assembled at the time he was about to march, and took post in the Gharíb Khána'h Kotal,—what has been lately called the Landey Khána'h Kotal, and recommended as the most westerly position, in that quarter, for our new and "scientific frontier,"—and some other Afgháns were along with them.

Muhammad Amín Khán set out, and with him went the Arbáb of Pas'háur, Mustajáb Khán, Mahmand, and other chiefs of the Afrídís and Wurakzís, and Khushhál Khán, the Khatak chief and poet, was also present with some of his clan. The army encamped at Jam-rúd, and Mustajáb Khán, the Arbáb above referred to, and other men of note among the Mahmands (the Mahmands here referred to are that portion of the tribe located in the plain of Pes'háwar), were sent, as a *jirgah* (the word here signifies, in Pus'hto, a deputation, but it also means a party met for consultation, and a sort of democratic assembly. The word, in Persian, signifies forming a ring or a rank), to summon the Afgháns to retire forthwith, and leave the route clear for his army to pass. They refused. Muhammad Amín Khán resumed his march from Jam-rúd, determined to force the pass. He reached 'Alí Masjid, and passed on beyond La'l Beg Garhí without molestation, but, when he reached the spur of L'wargaey ("Luargee" in the Indian Atlas map; *l'war*, in Pus'hto, signifies high, lofty, beetling, &c., and l'wara'h, a hill, a spur, and the like; *gaey* affixed to a word lessens the importance of it, or conveys contempt—the Little Spur or Hill), he found that the Gharíb Khána'h Kotal was closed by *sangars* or breastworks thrown right across the defile. The army was accordingly halted, and the troops of the advance, the strongest in point of fighting men, were disposed on the right and left in readiness to attack these defences. Mahmúd Khán, the Kheshkí* (an Afghán of Hindústán in the Mughal service) led them. The elephants with the force were also placed in front, and the main body kept well up with the advance column.

* The Kheshkí tribe, which is again divided into several sections, is descended from Zamand, son of Kharshabún. They were much dispersed even at this period, and a good many of them were dwelling in Hindústán.

As soon as the troops were near enough, the musketeers (the matchlock men with the army, who are called "artillery" by the historian, but Muhammad Amín Khán had no artillery with him), under Mubáriz Khán, were sent to attack the right, and Mahmúd Khán, Kheshkí, the left. When the Mughals approached the breastworks, the Afgháns, who were commanded by Ae-mal Khán, the Afrídí chief, and other Sardárs, and who had piled up fragments of rocks and great stones or boulders ready for use, launched them down upon the Mughals. The elephants were forced back, Mahmúd Khán was killed, and his troops were repulsed with great loss. Mubáriz Khán, on the left, met with no more success, and was also forced back, and the Afgháns used their swords upon the assailants with disastrous effect.

The fighting, after a short time, was again renewed, and continued for nearly the whole day, but the Mughals could effect nothing, and their Afghán allies, for the most part, kept aloof. The pass could not be forced. Some one now represented to Muhammad Amín Khán that, from the place they were then in, a road led down to the Tahtarah river (or stream), and where they then were no water was procurable, but if that point could be reached matters might be remedied and a stand made.

This was a mere piece of treachery however, and the shattered force proceeded in the direction of Tahtarah, but it was the road to destruction. When Muhammad Amín Khán reached the spur or head of Batro, some Afghán Jama'dárs, who were with him, told him that if he went down towards Tahtarah he would be lost, but that if he would come along with them, they would take him through the Khaibar in safety, by a route known to themselves; and they brought him safely to Pas'háur without a single attendant of his own.

This disastrous affair took place on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of Muharram, 1083 H. (the 18th, 19th, and 20th April, 1672, A.D.), from the march from Jam-rúd to the annihilation of the Mughal army in the Khaibar. Everything was lost—troops, treasure, elephants, camp equipage, family, including Muhammad Amín Khán's wife, mother, sister, son, daughters, brother-in-law, and servants, as well as the wives and families of the different nobles, officers, and officials serving under him in the Kábul province. In one day Muhammad Amín Khán became utterly destitute; his wife, son, and brother-in-law died, but respecting the other members of his family little is recorded. It appears, however, that after his entering into a truce, and paying a very large sum of money, the Afgháns released, and sent back his youngest daughter, who was a mere child, his mother, and some other females, but his wife, from a high sense of honour, refused to return—the reason may be imagined,—and, having donned the garb of a recluse, she gave up the remainder of her life to prayer and religious solitude.

The battles of Gand-áb, in 1084 H. (1673 A.D.), and Khápash, in 1085 H. (1674 A.D.), followed with similar disastrous results. These and other Afghán victories are celebrated by Khushhál Khán, in his spirited poem entitled an "Ode to Spring," from which the following is an extract:—

"The first fight was at the higher back of Mount Tahtarah,
Where forty thousand Mughals were scattered like chaff;
When their sisters and daughters fell into the bonds of the Afgháns,
With horses and camels, elephants, and baggage, string after string.
The second battle was with Mír Husain in the Do-ába'h,
When his head was crushed, like that of a venomous snake.
After that again was the affair at the fort of Noh-s'hahrah,
When from the Mughals I extracted my own inebriation.
And then came Jaswant Singh and Shujá'at Khán,
Of whom Ae-mal Khán plucked up the roots at Gand-áb.
The sixth was over Mukarram Khán and Shamsher Khán,
Both of whom, at Khápash, Ae-mal scattered to the winds.
These are the greatest triumphs that I hold in recollection,
But the lesser ones, in all directions, who shall compute?
Up to present time victory hath been always with us;
And for the future upon God is our dependence placed.
A year hath passed since Aurangzeb is encamped against us,
Disordered and perplexed in appearance, and wounded in heart.
It is now year after year that his nobles fall in battle;
But his armies swept away, who shall number them?
The treasures of India have been spread out before us;
The red gold muhurs have been engulphed in the hills.
It would not have entered one's head in eighteen guesses,
That such events would e'er have happened in these parts," &c., &c.

The whole of the poem will be found in my "Poetry of the Afgháns."

To resume the account of the route.

"From Gharíb Khána'h one kuroh and a half farther west is Haft Cháh*, signifying the (place of) Seven Wells, which previously had been a large and thriving village, but is now utterly desolate. There are some extensive ruins of a fortress here on a mound, and near by, several wells, hence the name. It lies on the left-hand side of the road.

"Proceeding from thence two kuroh, in the same westerly direction, there are two villages lying on either side of the river of Kábul, La'l-púra'h and Dhákah.

"West of Garhí-i-La'l Beg, some small streams rise in the mountains on either side of the Khaibar dara'h, which at Landey Khána'h unite into one bed, which increases in breadth as it runs to the northwards to join the river of Kábul, or Lamghán river, as it is also called at this place, east of Dhákah.

"From Landey Khána'h the dara'h begins to open, and in some places it is from half a kuroh to nearly a kuroh in breadth. The road lies in the sandy bed of this river, which is dry for great part of the year, but, during heavy falls of rain, like all similar river beds of this country, it is liable to be flooded. It is overgrown, and partly concealed, by the tall reeds before alluded to, but an occasional large boulder may be seen peeping through them, and indicating the river bed. As you proceed along, you suddenly perceive a village in front of you, and then, ascending a little to a small open space or plain, you can see over the Dhákah valley, the river of Kábul running through it, and another village on the opposite side. The village on the other side of the river is called La'l-púra'h,† the residence of Arsalán Khán, Mahmand, of the Tragzí clan. Halfway between Landey Khána'h and Dhákah you entered the Mahmand country or district.‡

"The village on the south side of the river is Dhákah,§ also belonging to the Tragzí Mahmands, and here the Khaibar dara'h terminates. From its eastern entrance near Kadam to this place there are numerous remains of ancient forts and other buildings, every here and there on the crests of the mountains, which rise on the right hand and on the left. Some of these ruins are of considerable extent, and numerous *smats* or caves are also to be found."

Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, half brother of Akbar Bádsháh, who held Kábul and Zábul, as far east as the Indus, as his appanage, having died in Rajab, 993 H. (1585 A.D.), Farídún, his maternal uncle, who ruled at Pas'háur for him, left for the purpose of proceeding to Kábul. It was usual with the governors of the Kábul province to make Pas'háur their *kishlák* or winter quarters, and Kábul their *ilák* or summer station. Farídún was, however, opposed in the Khaibar by the Afgháns, defeated, and compelled to return to Pas'háur again. He managed to reach Kábul soon after by another route, which is not specified, after losing seventy of his party, who died from thirst.

Akbar was now advised to annex Kábul, and the rest of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím's territory, to his own dominions, and he set out for Kábul in the month of Ramazán, 993 H. (1585 A.D.). The Kunwar,‖ Mán Singh, was directed to cross the Sind river, and advance to Pas'háur, and many Afgháns hastened to welcome him. The Khaibar route was infested by the Táríkís,¶ to whom I shall again refer, but, when the Kunwar, Mán Singh, marched through it, he cleared the route for the time, and proceeded on his way to Kábul.

Akbar reached Atak in Muharram, 994 H. (January, 1586 A.D.). At this time the

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* The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad says: "In advance of 'Alí Masjid dwell the Kásim Khel Afrídís, who "are arrant thieves. The next stage from 'Alí Masjid is the fort of La'l Beg, distant ten kos, and two kos "from the next Kotal is Landey Khána'h, and four kos from that Kotal is Haft Cháh."

† Four copies of the original distinctly state that La'l-púra'h is on the south side of the river of Kábul, and Dhákah on the north, although, at present, they are exactly the reverse. Strange to relate, the Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad, says the same, and Elphinstone likewise places La'l-púra'h on the south bank in his map, but leaves Dhákah out entirely. It strikes me there may be some truth in all this, and that the present La'l-púra'h, like Dhákah-i-Khurd, neither of which are mentioned in the histories of the reigns of Akbar, Jahán-gír, Sháh-i-Jahán, and Aurangzeb, are very modern places, or that the river of Kábul has altered its course in this direction, which seems very improbable, at least to any extent.

‡ The Táríkh i-Husain Sháhí states, that after passing the third stage in the Khaibar defile, which so far belongs to the Afrídís, and emerging from it halfway, and passing La'l Beg Garhí, which is also in the Khaibar, Landey Khána'h, and Dhákah, you reach the boundary of the Mahmand country. At the *manzil* or stage of La'l Beg Garhí there are no habitations, merely the watch-house or tower, because the people dwelling in this part are mostly nomads. *See* page 40.

§ This name, in the map contained in the "Geographical Magazine," for November 1878, is "Dukka," but in the map in the first number of the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," it is "Daka." A uniform system of spelling is most desirable.

‖ The son of a Rájah is called a Kunwar, especially of a high Rajpút family.

¶ *See* page 46.

chiefs and maliks of the tribes and clans of Khalíl, Mahmand, Gagyání, Sher-zád,* Khizr Khel, 'Abd-ur-Rahmání, Dzádzí (*vul.* Jajee and Jagee), Túrí, and others of the Ghurghust and Ghwaríah Khel septs, dwelling in the tracts between Kábul and Níl-áb, came and represented to the Bádsháh that the Yúsufzí tribe were in the constant habit of assailing them, and of attacking and plundering kárwáns, and other travellers and wayfarers, between Níl-áb and Bagrám, and that, on this account, they themselves got a bad name for the acts of the Yúsufzís. Consequent on these complaints, a force under Zain Khán-i-Kokal-Tásh, Rájah Bírbal†, and others, was despatched against them. This expedition will be referred to in the account of the Yúsufzís and their country, at the end of Section Third.

The mention of the Túrís here by Abú-l-Fazl proves the incorrectness of the statement made to the late Colonel Sir H. B. Edwardes, C.B., who mentions, in his report on the Míránzí expedition, that he was informed that "it is four generations since "the Toorees (Túrís) took root in Kooroom" (Kurma'h), and that "the Bangash had "rebelled against the Kábul sovereign, who sent a force, reduced them, imposed a "tax, to pay which they sold the village of Burrookzye, near Peywar (Paiwar), to the "Toorees." The Túrís have been settled for centuries in their present seats.

To resume. "At Dhákah two other roads diverge to Pes'háwar. The first lies to the north of the Khaibar dara'h, and is used when that route is closed. It is called the Áb-Khána'h route, crosses the elevated valley or dara'h of Shalmán, then descends to the river of Kábul, which is crossed, and the road then leads along the north bank of the river to Mícharna'í, and will be subsequently described.‡ The other, which is extremely difficult, a mere footpath in fact, and by which horses and camels cannot be taken, follows the Áb-Khána'h route to the Shalmán valley, but then, instead of crossing the river of Kábul, you keep it on the left hand and the Khaibar dara'h on the right. Few people are acquainted with this route except the Tragzí Mahmands who dwell in that part."

Before leaving the Khaibar, and resuming the route, it may be well to say a few words on a subject which there seems to be some doubt about—the custom of paying the Afrídí, Shinwárí, and Wurakzí Afgháns, for guarding the Khaibar route.

As late as Sháh-i-Zamán's reign these tribes paid no taxes to the State, being exempted as a compensation for guarding the pass, and, besides these exemptions, they held *jágírs*, or free grants of land, from the Government, to the value of 12,000 rupees annually: indeed the Wurakzís held jágírs in the valley of Pes'háwar itself for performing this service, and, consequently, styled themselves *naukars* or servants of the State. The Khaibar tribes, however, were liable to furnish contingents of troops in time of war, for, in Sháh-i-Zamán's last invasion of the Panjáb, they furnished 10,000 men, of whom 2,000 were Afrídí infantry.§

The author of the "Nasab Náma'h," a general history of the Sadozí monarchy, refers to this payment for the care of the pass, and making good all losses sustained in proceeding through it, as "a very old custom," even in his day. He also mentions that the Afrídí bounds "extend as far as the third stage in the route."

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad also refers to it as an "old custom," and add that the Kásim Khel Afrídís, dwell immediately west of 'Alí Masjid, and that they ar great thieves. I could quote many more proofs if space permitted.

The Sayyid computes the distance from Jam-rúd to La'l-púra'h at 24 kos.

To resume. "From La'l-púra'h,‖ three kuroh west, is Garwaey, a small villag

* A section of the Khogíánís.

† Also written Bírbar.

‡ This route can never be preferred either by Government or by private individuals, as some persons, w
style it, incorrectly, the "Alkama," "Abkhama," and "Alkana" route, assume, unless the river is permanen
bridged, for, at some seasons, it rushes down with great violence, is deep, and its bed dangerous. It is easy
get down from Jalál-ábád to Pes'háwar by raft, but to get up the stream by such means is not practical
The river is dangerous at all times, and that it is so has been proved in a lamentable manner.

§ The Bárakzís, after they had overturned the Sadozí monarchy, stopped this grant, upon which the Afr
and other Khaibar tribes closed the route against them and the Pes'háwar traders altogether. On
occasion, when Pír Muhammad Khán, and his brother, Sultán Muhammad Khán, invaded the Jalál-á
district, one had to take the southern and the other the northern route, as they could not pass through
Khaibar. This affair is again mentioned farther on, at page 50, note **.

When Ranjít Singh invaded Pes'háwar, the Afrídís, one night, cut the dykes of the Bárah river, and
his camp under water. Knowing what confusion was likely to ensue, they were on the alert, and succe
in carrying off much booty. On another occasion they cut off the water from Ranjít Sing'h's new fo
Fath-púr at Jam-rúd, and he had to pay them 1,200 rupees a month to allow the water to run for the us
the garrison.

‖ The writer does not take his departure from Dhákah, it will be observed, because, as mentioned previo
he says La'l-púra'h is on the south side of the river of Kábul, and the Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad doe
same.

also called Gard-áo, which lies on the left-hand side of the road. On the way you pass the Kotal called Khaibar-i-Khúrd, or the Little Khaibar, the road over which is somewhat difficult and narrow, but it does not extend for any great distance. There are some mounds there, apparently of ancient times, and some *smats* or caves. Another road leads to Gard-áo by keeping nearer the river of Kábul, and leaving the Kotal on the left hand, which does not require to be crossed, but the distance is greater.*

"From the last named village, one kuroh and a half in the same direction, is the village of Hazár-Khána'h,† signifying Thousand Springs—The Place of the Thousand Springs. It is also called Hazár-Ná'o, or The Place of a Thousand Channels,‡ which names are both derived from the numberless springs of water which flow from the hills on the left hand side of the road, and supply the numerous small canals or channels which intersect the *jal-gáh* or verdant plain which stretches away to the river on the right hand. On the left is a mountain range.

"The whole way along the road from Gard-áo the country is quite desolate and without inhabitant. After passing some small hills, you perceive several mounds in the plain or open space, on which are remains of ancient buildings.

"Leaving Hazár Khána'h, otherwise Hazár-Ná'o, and proceeding one kuroh and a half across the jal-gáh, in the same direction as before, but inclining northwards, not far from the banks of the river of Kábul, is Básaur, otherwise Básaul.§ This is a large village belonging to the Tragzí clan of the Mahmands, and is likewise called Bihsúd, and Bihsut (with the interchange of *d* and *t* as in the case of *r* and *l* above), and Dih-i-Ghulámán—or Village of the Slaves. The Koh-i-Be-Daulat (The Unlucky or Luckless Mountain Range),‖ a small range of hills, lies two kuroh towards the south, on the left-hand side of the road.

"The route above mentioned is the most direct or lower road over the jal-gáh, and is therefore somewhat difficult on account of the numerous springs and cuts running through it. There is another road which leads through marshy ground, nearer to the river of Kábul, close to the northern part of the Koh-i-Be-Daulat, which approaches the river, and near which an opening leads into the more level and open country where the Chhár Dih, or the Four Villages, are situated, and the distance is three kuroh. The road thence keeps along the western skirts of the Koh-i-Be-Daulat.

"From the range of hills before mentioned (the Koh-i-Be-Daulat), three kuroh to the south-west is Bísh-Bulák or Bulágh. It signifies 'The Place of Five Springs,' *bish* being five in the Turkish language, and *bulák* or *bulágh* a spring,¶ and from these five springs or bísh-bulák to Jam-rúd, by way of Tahtarah, is a well-known route, forty kuroh (to Pes'háwar)."

Towards the close of the year 994 H (end of 1586 A.D.), the Mahmands and other tribes of the Ghwaríah Khel, dwelling in the neighbourhood of Pas'háur, who had now made Jalálah, the Táríkí,** their leader, and had broken out into rebellion, invested

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There are two Dhákahs now, Dhákah-i-Khúrd, or Kam Dhákah, as it is called in Persian and Pus'hto respectively, or Little Dhákah, some miles east of La'l-púra'h, and Dhákah-i-Kalán or Lo-e Dhákah, or Great Dhákah, the name given to three small villages facing La'l-púra'h, which, between them, contain about eight or nine hundred dwellings.

* The Khaibar-i-Khúrd, or Little Khaibar, can be turned by this route, or rather pathway.

† Khána'h here is evidently, as in the case of Landey Khána'h, the shortened form of rúd-khána'h, the bed or channel of a river or stream, as well as a river or stream of water.

‡ Jal-gáh, the place of water or streams, a marshy meadow-like plain, in which is a spring or springs.

§ The former word bespeaks its Turkish origin, and there are several places with such names in this direction as I shall presently show, and *r* and *l*, in such words, are constantly interchangeable. At present, the letter ص, with which the author writes it, has been dropped for س, as in the word "Básaul" above.

Our latest maps turn it into "Bussowal," "Basawal," "Bussole," and "Bussoul."

When the Yúsufzís left Nangrahár on their way east of the Khaibar, they left the Muhammadzís in possession of part of Nangrahár, and the Gagyánís, who now occupy the Do-ába'h in the Pes'háwar district, took up their quarters at and around Básaul.

‖ Jahán-gír Bádsháh says, in his Autobiography :—"I then proceeded by Jam-rúd and the Khaibar, and "encamped at 'Alí Masjid, and then proceeded by the Már-pech (signifying, in Persian, serpentine, twisting "and twining like a snake) Kotal, and reached Gharíb Khána'h. On Wednesday, the 2nd of Safar, 1016 H. "[18th May, 1607, A.D.], I reached Básaul on the banks of the river. On the farther side is a range of "mountains, which is entirely destitute of trees and verdure, and, therefore, it is called the Koh-i-Be-Daulat. "I heard my father say that such mountains generally contain deposits of gold."

¶ All our maps are incorrect with respect to this name, some have "Pesh Bulack," some "Pesh Bolak," others "Pesh Boolak," and the like. *See* my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," note 8, page 937.

** Colonel Malleson, at page 195 of his "History of Afghanistan," makes Jalálah, the Táríkí, chief of the "Mohmands and Ghoris," and the "Mohmands," to make a "successful raid on the city of Ghazní." He says: "Rájá Mán Singh reached Kábul in safety, and prepared at once to act on the instructions of his master, "but before he arrived there Akbar had entrusted Zain Khán with a second army to act against the Mohmands "and Ghoris, who, under their chief, Jalálúdín Raushání, had committed many depredations in the Peshâwar

the fortress of Bagrám, and killed the Sayyid Hamíd, the Fauj-dár, who had sallied out against them.

The Kunwar, Mán Singh, who had set out with his troops for Kábul, as stated at page 43, now faced about and moved back to Jalál-ábád. Continuing his march towards the Khaibar he was attacked with fever at Bísh-Bulágh, and became so dangerously ill that it was necessary to halt there for some time.

The boldness and audacity of the Mahmands, Khalíls, and others of the Ghwaríah Khel, after their success over the Sayyid Hamíd and his small following, knew no bounds. They decamped, however, from before Pas'háur, and entered the Khaibar, where they threw up *sangars* or breastworks, and some directed their course into Tír-áh, which is a most difficult and broken country. Sukat Singh, son of Mán Singh, on hearing of the state of affairs, when on his way towards Kábul, was for making a forced march through the Khaibar, and throwing himself into Bagrám, but was unable to do so because the pass was closed; and now the Yúsufzís, and other Afghâns, joined the confederacy.

By the time the Kunwar, Mán Singh, had recovered from his illness, the forces despatched from Láhor, on the news of the outbreak and death of the Sayyid Hamíd had not yet reached their destination. They were at Atak, but unable to proceed. Mán Singh, therefore, selecting 3,000 men from his force, and leaving the rest as an escort for Mírzá Sulímán, late ruler of Badakhshán, who was on his way to Akbar's court, proposed to march into Tí-ráh, and from thence to fall upon the Afrídí Afghâns, who were the yeast of the disturbances in that quarter, after which he would suddenly advance through the Shádí Dara'h (not the Shádí Bagyára'í route) to 'Alí Masjid, in order that the different bodies of troops might effect a junction there, and open the Khaibar route, which had been completely closed by the rebels.

Mán Singh, accordingly, without encumbering himself with much baggage, marched at night from his camp at Bísh-Bulák or Bulágh, and at daybreak reached the Kotal of Chhár-Joe, the Persian for four rivulets or springs. This, it may be observed, is nearly the same route as lately taken by part of General Maude's force, in his operations against the Zakhá Khel clan of the Afrídís, only its advance was from Dhákah instead of Bísh-Bulák. The Kotal was encumbered with snow—it was early in December—and the ascents and descents were great. With much difficulty the defile was cleared.

Mán Singh halted at Bázárak, the diminutive form of Bázár, for a short time, and the following day a force, led by Muhammad Kulí Beg, fell upon the Afrídís and captured a great deal of booty. Some of his officers wished Mán Singh to return, in order that they might conduct their booty to a place of safety, but he would not hear of it. He continued his advance, and, by the dara'h of Jzawara'h (the Pus'hto for

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"valley. . . . . Thus the frontier contests continued for fourteen years (and the events of fourteen years "are summed up in about as many lines), until a new turn was given to them by a successful raid made by the "Mohmands on the city of Ghazní," &c., &c.

The author continually mentions that "the history of Afghanistan is a blank," but a volume might be filled
with an account of the Táríkís alone, in and around the Khaibar. To those who know Afghánistán and the
Afghâns I need scarcely mention who are meant when Táríkís and Ros'hánís are referred to, as I did so long
since in my "Poetry of the Afghâns," published in 1862, but before giving an extract from it, I will give
Mr. Dowson's explanation of Táríkí, which word occurs in his translation from the "Akbar-Námá," in Elliot's
"Muhammadan Historians," Vol. vi., p. 101. He says, "Jalála is generally called táríkí, 'sectary.' Chalmer's
"in his MS. translation, read the word as 'Tájik,' and, strange to say, Elphinstone has adopted that word in
"one of his notes. Jalála's followers, as Elphinstone shows, were Yusufzáis, not Tájiks."

It is not Elphinstone, however (who calls the Táríkís "Rousheníahs"), who turns them into "Tájiks:"
he has merely referred to that word (p. 457) as contained in the Chalmer's MS. translation referred to by
Mr. Dowson.

The brief account I gave of the Táríkís, *alias* Ros'hánís, in the "Poetry of the Afghâns" is as follows:—
Báyazíd, or Bázíd, the Ansárí, was altogether a remarkable man. . . . . Bázíd's religion, which he
instituted in 1542—43, A.D., spread rapidly among the Bar Pus'htún, or Eastern Afghâns, till at length he
was able to assemble armies, and oppose the Mughal government. He held the same tenets as the Súfís, bu
having been a disciple, for some time, of the notorious Mullá Sulímán—known as Jálandharí Sulímán, from th
town of Jálandhar, in the Panjáb, where he dwelt—Bázíd became initiated in the tenets of the Jogís, a sec
among the Hindús, and became a fast convert to the creed of the Metempsychosis, or Pathagorean system o
the transmigration of souls. On these doctrines, however, he engrafted some of his own, the most remarkabl
of which was, that "the most complete manifestations of the Divinity were made in the persons of holy men.
The great opponent of Bázíd was the Akhúnd, Darwezah, the greatest and most venerated of all the saints o
Afghánistán, who, in derision of the title of Pír-i-Ros'hán, or Apostle of Light, which Bázíd had himse
assumed, conferred on him the name of Pír-i-Tárík, or Apostle of Darkness, by which name he is now chief
known."

I may mention, once for all, that the disciples of Bázíd, the Ansárí, and his descendants are called Ros'hán
by their friends, and Táríkís by their enemies.

deep, depressed, profound, &c.) reached the hills on which the Mahmands and Khalíls, and others of the Ghwaríah Khel had taken up their position. Upon this the rebels tendered their submission, and thereby saved themselves. But no sooner had the Bádsháh's troops penetrated these mountain tracts and defiles than Jalálah and his Táríkís fell upon their rear, and the whole of the Afghán tribes round about rose. Takhtah Beg, the officer in command of the rear-guard, and other warriors, showed great gallantry upon this occasion, and fought with determined obstinacy, but being hard pressed they had to close up on the main body, and be relieved by another detachment of troops. After a deal of fighting the enemy gave up their attacks.

The Kunwar, Mán Singh, now turned his face towards 'Alí Masjid, and gave the command of the rear-guard to his eldest son, Jagat Singh. Observing this retrograde movement, the Afgháns again assembled in great numbers, and the affair assumed a very serious aspect.* There was no open ground for the troops to act and get at the enemy, and, amidst volleys of stones and showers of arrows, the men had to mount the hills and grapple with the enemy as best they could, and every now and again they made vigorous onsets upon them.

At last more open ground appeared in sight, and there Mán Singh, contrary to the advice of some of the nobles with him, resolved to make a stand. Takhtah Beg, and a body of Kábulís in his force, in their turn, now became the assailants, and attacked the Afgháns; and after some severe fighting the enemy were defeated and compelled to retire to their fastnesses in the hills.

Some of the officers were of opinion that, as the day had nearly closed, they should bivouac for the night on the scene of their success, but others were for pushing on to 'Alí Masjid without delay. This was done, and, without halting, the Mughal force reached that place by the Shádí Dara'h.

Jalálah and his Táríkís followed them very quickly. About two hours before midnight he reached the vicinity of 'Alí Masjid, and took up a position where he and his followers lay in wait in battle array for an opportunity to molest the Bádsháh's troops.

Some of the leaders under Mán Singh were for sallying out upon the enemy at daybreak, but the troops were too much knocked up from the long march and their exertions to be able then to do so. At midday, Mádhú Singh appeared in sight with Rájah Bagwandás's division of troops from the side of Pas'háur, which had been detached from the Bádsháh's army, but, as previously mentioned, had been detained at Atak. At the sight of this reinforcement the Táríkís dispersed in all directions.

To continue the account of this route.

" From Bísh Bulák to La'l-púra'h the distance is eight kuroh (*i. e.*, by road), and the Spín Ghar, or Safed Koh, is about twelve and a half kurohs to the southwards.

" Continuing the route from Básaul, and proceeding five kuroh west, inclining north-west, you reach Bhatí-Kot,† the name given to several villages belonging to the Afgháns, and the Már Koh, the Mountain of the Serpent, halfway on the road, and the river of Kábul, lie on the right-hand side.

" A road from the left hand (south), which comes from Bísh Bulák, at Bhatí-Kot, joins the Sháh-Ráh, or King's Road again, and the distance by that way is six kuroh.

" The wind from the Már Koh is highly dangerous. It is said, by tradition, to have been 'infested, in ancient times, by a large dragon, which the Khalífah, 'Alí, slew with his famous sword, Zú-l-Fakár, but the baneful breath of the dragon, which is the simún (wind), still continues, and nothing green will grow near the Már Koh nor on it.'‡

" Rather less than three kuroh to the west and south from Bhatí-Kot is the town of Baro, by which is another road, which again joins the Sháh Ráh, or King's Highway,

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* The Afgháns invariably follow the retreat of troops, and attack their rear if possible. It is their universal tactics, and has been for centuries, and should always be expected and provided for.

† Turned into "Batikot," and "Buttekot" in our maps, but, in the latest map, contained in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," for January 1879, it is "Barrikot."

‡ This range of hills is called Koh-i-Márán, or Mountain of Serpents, in the histories of Akbar's reign. The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad states that, when his father, the Sayyid 'Abd-ullah Sháh, on his mission from Governor Hastings, reached this place on his way to Kábul, people were much afraid of the wind blowing from the Már Koh; and, it being then the hot season, and he being rather feeble, it was determined that he and his party should remain at Bhatí-Kot until the autumn set in, because there was danger from the simún wind, which, in the hot season, blows from the Már Koh.

Ghulám Muhammad, going to join his father by way of the Khaibar, set out from Pes'háwar on the 29th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 1196 H. (that year ended on the 6th of December, 1782, A.D.). He made one stage from Pes'háwar to the Dih-i-Ghulámán, and the next to the 'Íd-gáh, referred to farther on.

between Nímla'h and Jagdálík, at Safed Sang. Baro is the place where Muhsin Khán, governor of Kábul, defeated the arch heretic, Báyazíd, Ansárí, otherwise Pír-i-Ros'hán, or Saint of Light, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, or Saint of Darkness. Báyazíd had invaded Nangrahár from Tí-ráh, and had sacked Baro, but the governor, making a forced march from Jalál-ábád, came upon him, and routed him and his followers with great slaughter. Báyazíd, with difficulty, reached the mountains again.

"Proceeding three kuroh north-west, inclining west, from Bhatí-Kot, you reach a religious edifice called, an 'Íd-gáh, which is in ruins, and from thence five kuroh in the same direction is the ancient Tájzík town of 'Alí Baghán, but, in the histories of Akbar Bádsháh's reign, and other writings, it is called Ilah Baghá. It is situated near the banks of the river of Káman (*i.e.*, the river of Kábul, which here is also called the river of Lamghán). It is also sometimes called Samah Khel.

"Between Bhatí-Kot and this town you first cross an extensive open tract, which is intersected by small streams running from the left hand, from the Spín Ghar range, towards the right. After having proceeded thus for about three kuroh, you enter ravines and broken ground, ascents and descents, and have to pass through a defile for about half a kuroh, with little hills on either side, and on one higher than the rest, on the left hand, are the ruins of a large fort.*

"This defile is called Ilah Baghá, and also Surkh Díwar or Díwal, signifying the red pass or defile,† and also Koh-i-Sang-i-Surkh, or the Red Rock Mountain (range), from the reddish colour of the rocks on either side of the defile.

"On clearing this gorge the town of Jalál-ábád can be seen, and also the town of Káman on the right hand.‡

"At Ilah Baghá you leave the Afgháns for a time, for you are now in Nangrahár where the people are Tájzíks, and speak the Persian language. They extend all the way as far west as Gandamak.

"Three kuroh west from Ilah Baghá or' Alí Baghán is Jalál-ábád, a large town, and the seat of government of the district of Nangrahár. From Pes'háwar to this place the distance is fifty kuroh, and the Spín Ghar range shows itself by the way on the left hand."

Nangnahár or Nangrahár.

This is one of the six provinces or territories inhabited by the Tájzík race north of the Safed Koh or Spín Ghar range of mountains, which provinces contain a number of dara'hs or valleys of considerable extent, with other smaller dara'hs opening into them.§ These territories will be more particularly referred to under the head of Kábul, farther on.

During the present Afghán crisis, new accounts of the country have been written and new maps have been prepared. In one of the former we are told that "Nungnehar" is "the hilly tract which extends along the northern base of Sufeid Koh, between the

* This is, in all probability, the remains of the fort of Aghúz-ábád, so called after its founder, Aghúz Khán, a Mughal officer of Aurangzeb Bádsháh's reign, who was very successful in his operations against the Afgháns.

† Díwar or Díwal, *r* and *l* being interchangeable, as previously noticed, is Turkish for a pass or defile. This name has been hitherto written by Europeans "Sang-i Súrákh," which signifies "the stone or rock with a hole or perforation," but it is a great error. The former word, súrákh, would be written سوراخ, but the name of this place is written سرخ, red.

‡ On his return from Kábul, whither he had gone in 997 H. (A.D. 1589), having passed Gandamak and the Bágh-i-Wafá, Akbar Bádsháh entered the lands of Koshlak. From thence he turned aside to Bihár, a very old place (from its name, the site of a bihár or wihár of Buddhists), which was inhabited in the time of Sultán Mahmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín of Ghaznín. Akbar directed that a fort should be erected there, and he assigned to it the name of Sháh Bihár (being particularly partial to Hindús he must needs revive the name of their celebrated temple mentioned at page 63). Having passed Jalál-ábád, on the way back to Pes'háwar, he turned aside to visit the Lamghánát, *i.e.*, the Lamgháns, and Mandráwar, and proceeded as far as Mas'úd-ábád. He then came to the range of hills or mountains called Ilah-Baghá, and then went on by Bárík-Áb, and the Saráe of the Khwájah, Yakút, to Dhákah. While on his way thither a hyena was seen, and Akbar gave chase to it in that stony and broken ground. His horse fell with him, and the skin of his face was much abraded. He got up, and the wound was bound up, and he continued his journey. Another writer states that he was hurt a good deal, and kept his bed for six days.

§ A dara'h, as previously noticed, may well be compared to a leaf. To use the botanical terms, the *midrib* or *costa* is the river running through it, the *primary veins* are the smaller streams or rivulets, its feeders, flowing through still smaller dara'hs opening into the larger one on either side; the point of the leaf is the head of the dara'h, where is the jal-gáh in which the river rises, and the *petiole* is the river running from the dara'h, where lies the pass leading into it.

"Khyber and the Kurkutcha ranges." Then we are further informed that "the "most direct road from the Kyber Pass to Kabool lies through it, but it is little "frequented, in consequence of the great number of defiles, and the turbulent and "predatory character of the people"; and finally we are assured that it is a "sequestered district."

The new maps contain the "Khyber" and the "Kaibar" Pass, and several ranges of mountains and valleys appear, but they are mythical in many instances, and in the case of this territory particularly. The Safed or Spín Ghar range, in one map especially, is made to run towards the river of Kábul in such a manner that, from what is called the "Karkatcha Pass" to "Dukka" these mountains appear to divide the valley of the river of Kábul almost in a straight line, run in a broad belt filling more than half the space between the river of Kábul and the Siyah Koh range and the highest ridges of the Spín Ghar range, and terminate most abruptly on the northern side. The ridges are made to run in singular regularity, at right angles from this broad belt towards the north, with a river of wonderful uniformity between each ridge, altogether different to that portion of the India Atlas sheets, Nos. 4 and 14. Who would imagine, looking at these maps, that there were several routes from Kábul to Jalál-ábád, and farther east through this apparently inaccessible broad wall of Safed Koh, besides many cross roads? and who would suppose that the courses of these regularly flowing rivers, nearly all running due south and north, are for the most part imaginary?

According to one of the maps referred to, "Nungnahar" consists only of one third of the southern half of the area between the river of Kábul, near Chhár Bágh, and the highest ridge of Spín Ghar, and that the most easterly portion, while in another map, "Nangrahar" constitutes the whole of the southern half of the area, or a tract of country twice as large again in the one map as in the other!

The following are the correct geographical and ethnological boundaries of the country or province of Nangrahár:—

"It extends, from the village and lands of Bhatí-Kot on the east, to the Surkh-Áb-Kotal on the west (not, however, according to the line of the "Surk-ab" and "Surhab River," as the Surkh (Red) Áb (River) is laid down in the maps referred to), a distance of thirty kuroh; and from the mountain of Darúnthah, on the river of Kábul on the north, to Kajá, on the south, a breadth of ten kuroh, and these boundaries are precisely contrary to what has been written in some Gazetteers. In this space, although the district lies high, there are no lofty mountains, nevertheless the ground is stony and broken in many places, and not very level; and in it from 12,000 to 15,000 Tájzík families dwell. The cultivation is chiefly rúdí, that is land dependent on river irrigation, but there is a little lalmí, or such as is dependent on rain. On the produce of the former the government assesses one third and sometimes a fourth of the produce in money, but, on the latter, one tenth only is assessed, and that is in kind, not in money.

"The original name of this territory was Nek Anhár, *nek* signifying in Persian 'good,' 'beneficial,' and also 'many,' and *anhár* is the plural of *nahr*, 'a stream' or 'rivulet,' but that is an Arabic word, although commonly used in Persian. By degrees, through constant use, Nek-anhár became corrupted into Nangrahár. In former times it was likewise known as Jú-e-Sháhí. It consists of a number of dara'hs of greater or less extent, and these are peopled by Tájzíks and a few Afgháns. The Dara'hs of Lamghán and Káman, and, in the same manner, Shíwí, the tract of country in which the Shinwárí tribe dwell, which runs down south of Jalál-ábád, being also computed, they number nine various dara'hs, out of which nine rivers flow. All these meeting in this district, the combined rivers receive the name of river of Kábul. It is from these nine tributaries that the name of the territory is derived, not from the minor streams alone which flow from the Spín Ghar range, as has been hitherto supposed.

"The town of Adínah-púr was the ancient seat of government, but, as it was situated in broken and uneven ground, and distant from the river of Kábul, a new town was founded, half a kuroh north of the old one, adjoining the river, which was named Jalál-ábád after Jalál-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Akbar Bádsháh, whose founder he is said to have been. It is a small place. It is also called 'Ajá'íb-ul-Bilád—wonderful among cities—because the cold of winter is never severe, although snow falls within two or three kuroh of it.

"It is a fruitful tract of country, producing much grain, such as rice, wheat, barley, múng (*Phaseolus mungo*), and 'adas (lentils), in great quantities; and the quantity and quality of the various fruits who shall enumerate and sufficiently praise? Among

them are the seedless pomegranates, which are taken away into distant parts for presents, in such esteem are they held.

"The weights and measures of Nangrahár are similar to those of Kábul. The weight of 80 rupees they term one ser, 100 rupees weight a chárak, 2½ cháraks constitute 1 mann of Tabríz, 4 cháraks 1 Kábulí ser, 8 Kábulí sers 1 mann of the kingdom of Delhí. The measurement of land is after the following computation,—40 fingers of middle size constitute 1 standard gaz, 3 gaz 1 katth'ah, 20 katth'ah in length and the same in breadth 1 biswah, 20 biswah 1 bíghah, which they also term a jaríb.*

"The gross revenue of that part of Nangrahár mentioned in the fourth paragraph above, not including the other dara'hs, was, in Tímúr Sháh Sadozí's reign, just 100,000 rupees.† According to the assessment in Akbar Bádsháh's reign, as stated by the Shaikh, Abú-l-Fazl, the revenue of the Tomán of Nek-Nihár amounted to 1,18,94,003 dáms, which at 40 dáms the rupee makes it amount to 2 lakhs and 97,350 rupees. The contingent of militia amount to 200 horse and 5,000 foot, but of what tribe or people is not stated, but, doubtless, Tájzíks are referred to.

"The following are the dara'hs east of Kábul and south of Nangrahár; the others will be mentioned in the Third Section of these notes:—

"First. Hisárak-i-Sháhí. This dara'h is of considerable size; and, from north-east to south-west, is nearly sixteen kuroh in length. South-west and south of it is a vast mountain range, covered with perpetual snow, and styled the Koh-i-Tí-ráh. This is the Safed Koh of Persian writers, and Spín Ghar of the Afgháns, and from the south-west or head of the dara'h a river issues. Its water, from being impregnated with a red-coloured earth, appears of that colour; in fact, the colour is so deep that if a piece of white cloth be dipped in its water it turns it a red colour. This river consequently is known as the Surkh Rúd, or Red River.‡ Its water, however, is considered very good, and is not deleterious to the health of any one. It passes three or four kuroh west of Gandamak, and, flowing through a mountain range difficult to cross, joins the river of Lamghán (or river of Kábul) near the village of Darúnthah.§ In this dara'h are Hisárak-i-Sháhí, giving name to the dara'h, Chhár-tút, and several other villages of the Mahmad (Mandú) section of the Khogíání ‖ tribe, which will be farther referred to in the routes.

"The second dara'h, which is small, and to which no name in particular is assigned,¶ lies to the southwards of Gandamak, and through it a small river flows, which, passing east of Gandamak, joins the Nímla'h river, and subsequently enters the Surkh Rúd; and the stream in question they call the river of Gandamak.

"The third dara'h is called Kajá.** This is a great and long dara'h belonging to the Tájzíks, and the Afghán people call it Kagá (some tribes, particularly the Eastern Afgháns, use *g* where the Western tribes use the letters *j* and *jz*. *See* my Afghán Grammar, page 3). It is nearly ten kuroh in length, and, on the south side, it joins the Koh-i-Tí-ráh or Spín Ghar. It produces various kinds of delicious fruits, and in the winter much snow falls, and, even in the summer, the nights cannot be passed without a fire and a postín.

"From the south side of this dara'h, a small river issues, which, passing on the east side of the village of Nímla'h, joins the Gandamak river, and higher up (*i.e.*, farther north), beyond the village of Kangkrak, unites with the Surkh Rúd.

"From the village of Kajá to Nímla'h is four kuroh north, and Fath-ábád is four kuroh to the north-east.

"The fourth dara'h is Kajah-ah, a still larger one, in length from east to west fifteen kuroh. It has a great mountain range on either side of it, and in the ridges thereof a

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* Kattha'h, biswah, and bíghah, are Sanskrit words.

† Under the rule of the Amír, Sher 'Alí Khán, Bárakzí, the whole territory from Básaul toJagdalaey or Jagdálík, including *all* the territory belonging to him on the northern side of the river of Kábul, yielded, I am informed, on good authority, nine lakhs of rupees.

‡ The "Surhab River" of the Indian Atlas map, and "Surkab" of Mr. Trelawny Saunders' first map in the "Geographical Magazine," but the "Surkh-rúd River" of his last map in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society." Strictly speaking it should be called the Surkh River.

§ The cartographer has placed the district, so called, on the wrong side of the river in his first map.

‖ It is sometimes called the Mandú dara'h.

¶ It might be very properly styled the dara'h of Gandamak.

** During the time that the late Dost Muhammad Khán's half brothers, Pír Muhammad Khán and Sultán Muhammad Khán, who held Pes'háwar and its dependencies, were conspiring against the former, and invaded his province of Jalál-ábád, Pír Muhammad marched to Kohát, crossed the Spín Ghar range, and descended into this dara'h of Kajá, where Sultán Muhammad, who had marched from Pes'háwar by the Karappah route by Mícharna'í, then was. The Khaibar had been closed against the Bárakzís, and consequently the brothers had to take these routes.

section of the Ghalzí tribe dwell. In the middle of it (*i.e.*, halfway through it), the Surkh Rúd issues from the mountains to the south, and flows towards the east.

"Every plot of land is called after the name of the person who cultivates it, and is known by that name."

Mr. Clements Markham tells us* that "the district of Jalal-abad is called Nangnahar, "not, as Lieutenant Wood supposed,† because it contains nine rivers, for the word is, "as Colonel Yule explains it, but a corruption of the ancient Indian name Nagarahâra "(the Nagar of Ptolemy), written in Babar's time Nagarhar," and that "Babar also "calls it Adinapur."‡

I will not go back as far as Ptolemy and ancient Indian names, or attempt to interfere with these ancient reveries, but I must dissent as respects Bábar. On looking into the Turkí original of his Tuzúk, and the two different Persian versions of it, I find in one place, where his setting out to invade Hind is mentioned, that Babár "set out from Kábul to invade Hind by way of Badám Chashma'h and Jagdálík, and, "in six nights, reached the fort of Ádínah-púr, in the tomán of Nangnahár." If a careless copyist leaves out one of the *n's* here, then the word will be Nagnahár, but to make "Nagarhár" it must be written نگرهار, and pointed with the vowels as well. In the Persian versions the name is Nek-nihár.

The Shaikh, Abú-l-Fazl, author of the Á'ín-i Akbarí, who is considered a very great authority, and who may be supposed to have had the best information on matters connected with the geography of the Mughal empire as well as revenue matters, calls the district the tomán of Nek Nihál and Nek Nihár. From the interchange of *l* for *r* in the second word, I should suppose Abú-l-Fazl took it to be a Turkish word. He does not mention its meaning, but he says it contained nine rivers. The first word, *nek*, in Persian signifies "many" as well as "good," and among other meanings of Nihár in the same language one is "an idol."

Báyazíd, the Byát, says that Humáyún Bádsháh built a fort at Jú-e Sháhí, where, in after years another fort was built, and called after that Bádsháh's son—Jalál-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Akbar Bádsháh—by the name of Jalál-ábad. Humáyún, he also says, built this fort in Rajab, 959 H. (June, 1552, A.D.), and that, having left Jú-e Sháhí, he arrived at Adínah-púr,§ near which his father, Bábar Bádsháh, laid out the garden called by him Bágh-i-Wafá; and that he reached Kábul on the 8th of Sha'bán.

Abú-l-Fazl also states that Adínah-púr was formerly the chief official place of Lamghán, but now Jalál-ábád is; and that near Adínah-púr is the Bágh-i-Wafá.

The Akhúnd, Darwezah, the celebrated saint of the Afgháns, who was himself a Tájzík, and a native of the territory in question, writes the word Nangrahár. His ancestors came from the town of Pápín, which appears to have been situated in the dara'h of Hisárak-i-Sháhí.

This place Sultán Bahrám, a descendant of the Sultáns of Pích, who claimed descent from a son of Alexander of Macedon, took possession of, and conquered the tracts up as far as the Safed Koh of Nangrahár, and drove out a tribe which predominated over the Nangrahárís, as the Akhúnd styles the Tájzík inhabitants of that part, called Budní, which appears to have been a clan of those Turkish tribes which, before the Afgháns pushed as far north as the southern face of the Spín Ghar range, lorded it over those parts from very early times, as I shall presently proceed to show. The Akhúnd, Darwezah, was descended on the father's side from the Turks of Nangrahár, and, on the mother's side, from Sultán Bahrám, an account of whom I shall give in my History of the Afghán people and their country.

Sultán Bahrám died at Kot, in Nangrahár, and his descendants were still dwelling there in the Akhúnd's time. They continued to rule over those parts until the period of Amír Tímúr's invasion, when they became vassals to his government and that of his successors, but in course of time they lost this nominal power likewise.

Other writers, who composed their histories long before the time of the Akhúnd, also tell us about the Turk tribes, or sections of tribes, settled in these parts, and therefore the numerous Turk names of places are not to be wondered at.

When Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, Khwárazm Sháh, overthrew the Mughals at Barwán, near the source of the Logar river,‖ in 618 H. (1222 A.D.), a quarrel arose about

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* "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for January 1879, page 43.

† Wood calls it "Nanjhnehar," and, in a footnote, says, "Sultan Baber mentions that the name Nangenhâr "(*sic*) as he calls it, was written Nekerhâr (rather Nagarhâr) in many histories."

‡ Mr. Markham, doubtless, formed his opinion from the translation of Bábar's work.

§ Adínah-púr was the name of the chief town, not the name of the district or province.

‖ See my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 228, and note 3.

some of the booty between the Yamín-ul-Mulk, Malik Khán of Hirát, and Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Ighrák, the Khalj, who had joined the Sultán with 40,000 men, composed of Khalj and Kankulí Turks, Ghuzz Turk-máns, and Ghúrís, who were Tájzíks. The dispute not having been settled to the satisfaction of the Khalj Malik, Saif-ud-Dín, he, with the whole of the troops he had brought to the Sultán's army, left his camp in the night, and marched away in the direction of Pars'háwar, supposed to be the present Pes'háwar district, towards the mountains of Karmán and Sankúrán* (this is the Shalúzán or Shanúzán—both modes of writing the word are correct—of Amír Tímúr's campaign). With Saif-ud-Dín was the 'Azam Malik, the son of 'Imád-ud-Dín, the Balkhí, a Ghúrí chief, and several others. These disloyal chiefs proceeded into Nangrahár, which was the fief of the 'Azam Malik. Arrived there, the latter entertained them for a time, but, as enmity existed between Núh, the Ján-dár, who was at the head of a khel of some five or six thousand families, and Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Ighrák, the Khalj, the latter, with his 20,000 followers (his immediate followers) turned his face towards Pars'háwar, while Núh, the Ján-dár, stayed behind in the pasture lands of Nangrahár.†

Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, in consequence of this defection on the part of these Turks and Ghúrís, could not keep the field, and retired to Ghaznín; and after the Chingiz Khán had completely overthrown the unfortunate Sultán, he had these rebels exterminated, which was partly brought about by their own feuds. The particulars of these events will be found in detail in the last Section of my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," and at page 288, and note 3.

A portion of the Khalj tribe, and some of the Ghuzz, had been settled in these parts, about Spín Ghar, in Nangrahár and Karmán and Shalúzán, for a long period prior to this time. Some writers, however, who appear to have no special knowledge of the subject, seem to be unaware of these facts, and hence Khalj Turks are first turned into Ghúrís, who are Tájzíks, and then the same Ghúrís are re-transformed into "Ghilzai Afgháns."‡

The Akhúnd also says, "first the Dilazák Afgháns appeared in Nangrahár—as he "writes it—and passed on to the east; in after years came the Khas'hí or Khak'hí "Afgháns—the Yúsufzís, Mandars, and others—and they too passed on; and lastly, "came the Ghwarís or Ghwaríah Khel, and they likewise passed on. The Dilazáks seem "to have occupied those parts some time after the Chingiz Khán had destroyed the "Turk clans there located."

The Khas'hís appear to have moved from the tracts near Kandahár about the time

* An account of these dara'hs will be found at pages 81 and 82.

† Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., in a recently published account of "Afghanistan and the Afghans." says, at page 195, that "Changiz, at the time of his invasion, found the "Peshawar valley held by Irac or Persian troops." He has made a mistake here over the name of Ighrák—Saif-ud-Dín, Ighrák, the Khalj—which Turks he subsequently turns into Ghalzí Afgháns.

‡ A portion of the Khalj tribe of Turks had been settled in the Garm-sír of Ghúr during the time of the Turk governors of those parts, previous to the time of Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín. In after years the Khalj tribe of those parts gave kings to Lakhanawatí or Bengal, and to Málwah. Portions of them are still to be found in different parts of Central Asia. Their name is written خلج, and its plural is Akhláj, اخلاج, and persons unacquainted with early Muhammadan history run away with the idea that they must be Ghalzí Afgháns, because, among the Turk tribes settled in and around the valley of the Kurmáh river, a portion of the Khalj was one. The name of the Afghán tribe is written Ghalzí, which is the plural form. Some Afghán tribes use the letter "j" in place of "z" in all words, and, as some pronounce the above name Ghaljí, those who know nothing of the Khalj Turks and their antecedents, assume that they are Ghalzí Afgháns, or rather that the latter are Khalj Turks.

In a book written by Mr. Bellew in 1857, "A Mission to Afghanistan," he says, at page 50, "Bíbí Matto "was married to Shah Husain, a Persian prince of Ghor, and to whom she bore two sons, viz., Ghilzai "and Ibrahim." At page 60 he says, "A few months after the marriage, Bíbí Matto gave birth to a son, who "from the attendant circumstances (the illicit connection) was named 'Ghalzoe' or 'the son of theft,' "(in Pukhtú, 'ghal' means a 'thief' or 'theft,' and 'zoe,' a 'son'). From this son sprang the tribe of "'Ghalzoe' or 'Ghalzai,' at this day one of the chief and most powerful of the Afghán tribes."

All this is tolerably correct, only the Ghúrís were not "Persian" princes. At page 80 of the same book he says, "the Ghoride were Afghan princes," which they were not, in the opinion of Firishtah.

At page 175 of Mr. Bellew's book, he says, "of Afghans, there are families of the Ghalzai and Mahmand tribes," but, at page 220 of his latest book we have the following:—

"Connected with the Afghan, and generally reckoned as a Pathan (elsewhere we are told that 'Pathans are not Afghans') is the Ghilzaí. His language is the Pukhto, and his manners and customs assimilate to those of the Afghan, with whom he is an orthodox Sunni Musalman. But he is professedly of a different origin, and never styles himself anything but Ghilji. He has no knowledge why he sticks to this term as his patronymic, beyond the fact that he is not an Afghan nor a Pathan, though now he is more or less blended with them by intermixture of territory, and to a small extent by intermarriage, also. The Ghilzais are supposed to have come into the country with Sabaktakin, the Turks in the tenth century, and to be representatives of the Turk tribe of Khilich which was anciently located on the upper course of the Jaxartes."

of Tímúr's invasion, and in the time of Mírzá Ulugh Beg's rule, we know, on undoubted authority, that they reached the tracts north and east of the Khaibar Pass, but the Ghwaríah Khel only reached their present seats towards the end of Humáyún's reign. "The Yúsufzís left the Muhammadzís in Nangarhár, and the Gagyánís took up their quarters about Básaul, but followed the Yúsufzís as soon as they had sufficient room in their newly acquired territory to receive them." At this time too it is remarkable, but a fact nevertheless, that we hear not one word as to the Afrídís being then located so near the Khaibar defiles, much less occupying them, and it is only in 925 H (1519 A.D.), that we hear of their being *just* settled in Bárah, where "they had sown much rice."

Any account of the town of Jalál-ábád, from the course of events at present, is unnecessary; therefore, after this digression, I shall continue my author's routes towards Kábul.

Several routes diverge from Jalál-ábád, and will be mentioned in their proper place, in the next Section of these notes, including those leading towards Kúnar, Chitrál, Káshkár, and the Káfiristán.

"One kuroh and a half west of Jalál-ábád is the Mazár, or Tomb of Rustam Khán,* a brick-built mausoleum, which is close by, on the right hand, adjoining the road. This place has been also called the 'Íd-gah, which means a building in which the religious festivals of the Muhammadans are celebrated; and near this place are the elephant stables of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí. The river, which is generally known here as the Lamghán river, lies at a distance on the right hand. After it passes Jalál-ábád, in the direction of north-east, near Ilah Baghá or 'Alí Baghán, it joins the Kámán river, and obtains the latter name, and also that of river of Jalál-ábád, as well as river of Kábul.

"To the west of the mausoleum of Rustam Khán, on the right-hand side, adjoining the road, is the little village called the Kalaey (in Pus'hto, signifying a village) of Madad Khán, to the west of which again is a small river, called the river of Rustam Khán, which comes from the left hand, from the villages belonging to the Shinwárí tribe, in the Shíwí Dara'h, and, running to the right, joins the river of Kábul. It rises in the mountain range of Tí-ráh, which is always covered with snow (Spín Ghar, or Safed Koh); and, except in the summer season, when the snow melts, it can be easily forded, the water being then less than knee deep.† The rivers and streams of this part all become swollen and flooded in the hot season when the snow melts.

"From this Kalaey, one kuroh west, inclining south-west, is Chhár Bágh-i-Safá,‡ a large village of the Tájzíks, and near it are four gardens—chhár bágh—as its name indicates, which are famous for their fruits, more particularly the garden known as the Bágh-i-Safá (which latter word signifies 'pleasure' and 'content,' as well as 'purity,' 'clearness,' etc.), which lies near the village on the west side, a heart-ravishing and delightful place, and therein are produced delicious fruits. A large canal has been cut from the Surkh Rúd, farther west, and water brought from it into these gardens.

"The distance from this place to Kábul is estimated at forty kuroh; and from here two roads diverge. The right-hand (northern) route they call the Ráh-i-Kaj-há, the Kaj-há Road, while that on the left-hand (southern) is as follows:—

"Leaving the Bágh-i-Safá of Chhár Bágh on the right hand, and proceeding six kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining west, and leaving Bálá Bágh likewise on the right hand, at some distance from the road, you reach Fath-ábád,§ a large village belonging to the Tájzíks. There are many ascents and descents by the way, and mountains on either side, distant about two or three kuroh. In proceeding direct from Chhár Bágh to Bálá Bágh you pass Sultán-púr,|| where are numerous springs and many gardens, and cross the river called the Kará-Sú, the Turkish name for the Black or Dark River.

There is also a road from Bálá Bágh direct to Nímla'h, but it is bad after you reach

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* The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad computes the distance of this place from Jalál-ábád at two kos west.

† This river in the Indian Atlas map, and in some others, is made to flow east of Jalál-ábád instead of west, while a small stream, which runs only for a few miles, takes its place west of Jalál-ábád.

‡ There is a large village on the other side of the river of Kábul, also called Chhár-Bágh-i-Mas'úd, or Chhár-Bágh of Mas'úd, by way of distinction.

§ This is a very old place, once called Dínúr. Maudúd, son of Mas'úd, the Martyr, son of Mahmúd, Sultán of Ghaznín, is said to have defeated his uncle, Muhammad, here in 434 H., (1042-43, A.D.), and avenged the murder of his father, and named it Fath-ábád, or the Abode of Victory. *See* "Tabakát-i-Násirí," pages 96 and 97, and note 2.

|| There are two Sultán-púrs now, one Bálá or Upper, the other Pá'ín or Lower.

about halfway, and descends into the bed of a clear stream, which has to be crossed. It has several ascents and descents until you approach near to Nímla'h."

When Bábar Bádsháh, in 925 H. (October, 1519, A.D.), was on his return to Kábul, having abandoned his intended expedition against the Yúsufzís, on receiving intimation of the intention of Sultán Sa'íd Mírzá, his kinsman, to invade Badakhshán, he passed through the Khaibar defile and encamped on the west side of it. He, on this occasion, determined to beat up the quarters of the Khizr Khel, Afgháns (there is a clan of the Soní or Suní Sarwárnís, called the Khizr Khel), for they had been acting very badly of late, cutting off stragglers who were passing to and fro, and had stolen horses from the Bádsháh's troops previously left in Tí-ráh. He marched, at dawn, from the west foot of the Khaibar defile, and pushed on by way of the village called the Dih-i-Ghulámán—"The village of the Slaves"—also named Básaul, where he halted to pass the midday. At the time of afternoon prayers the horses were fed, and he again set out; and he sent on a party to Kábul to secure the Khizr Khels in that quarter.*

That same night, at about the beginning of the third watch, he passed a little beyond Sultán-púr, and halted for the purpose of taking some repose, and allowing his force to do the same. The Khizr Khels were located from Bihár and Hích-grám, as far as Kará-tú, and he attacked them early the following morning. The surprise was so complete that only a few had time to betake themselves to the mountains, and most of their property and effects, they and their families, fell into the hands of the troops. Next morning the Bádsháh reached Kilághú—the Turkí text has Kílághú—where the heavy baggage and materials came up with the force, and there he halted.

The Wazírí Afgháns had always declined before this to pay any tribute, but now they sent in 3,000 sheep, as an offering (pesh-kash), to propitiate the Bádsháh. The next day the head-men of the Kharlakhí and Shamú Khel,† and some other Afgháns, accompanied by several of the head-men of the Dilazáks (who were in the Bádsháh's camp), came and solicited pardon. The Khizr Khel clan was accordingly pardoned, their families were restored to them, and their yearly tribute was fixed at 4,000 sheep. On the 18th of the same month, Bábar marched from Kilághú, and came back to Bihár and Hích-grám again, and halted for the day, and next morning reached the garden styled Bágh-i-Wafá, or Garden of Sincerity or Fidelity, a little west of Chhár Bágh, and then proceeded on by Gandamak and Jagdálík to Kábul.

Some time after Humáyún Bádsháh had defeated his rebellious brother, Mírzá Kámrán, at Kabchák and Shutar Grám, in the year 957 H. (1550, A.D.), he had to march from Kábul again to quell another outbreak which Kámrán had raised in Nangrahár.

Kámrán had fled into those parts through the dara'hs of Alingár and 'Alí Shang, and found shelter among the Khalíls and Mahmands. The former, at this period, was an exceedingly powerful tribe, indeed, the most powerful tribe among the Ghwaríah Khel, and, at this time they had not reached their present seats in the Pes'háwar district. They had followed the Khak'hís or Khas'hís, that is to say, the Yúsufzís, Mandars, and Gagyánís, constituting that great sept, from Gárah and Nus'hkí, after having compelled the latter to leave those parts many years before. They first occupied part of Bájawr with some of the Yúsufzís about 923 H. (1517 A.D.), but had again quarrelled with them, and the Yúsufzís had been driven out, but they subsequently recovered part o[f] it. They were, at the period I refer to, occupying the country immediately west of th[e] Khaibar. Báyazíd, the Byát, says,—"Humáyún, having reached the Siyah-Áb o[r]
"Black Water, or river of Gandamak, placed the van of his force under Haida[r]
"Muhammad, the Akhtah Bígí, and then advanced across [that is, east of] th[e]
"Siyah-Áb, and halted. There is also a village called Siyah-Áb.

"Kámrán, with his Khálíl and Mahmand allies, was at Kará-sú (this, in Turkis[h] has the same meaning as Siyah-Áb in Persian), which is situated on the northe[rn] skirt of Safed Koh or Spín Ghar, on the other side of which lies Bangas'h, and, on t[he] side, Jalál-ábád. He made preparations for a night attack upon Humáyún's forc[e] and, as the Bádsháh, with his troops, was on the other side of the Siyah-Áb (fr[om] Kámrán and his allies), in the darkness of the night he lost the road, and stumb[led] upon the van of Humáyún's forces under Haidar Muhammad. Standing at [the] entrance of the latter's tent, Mírzá Kámrán sent in Sháh Badágh and others of [his] own immediate followers, who fell upon Haidar Muhammad with their swords, [and] wounded him so in the right arm, that it was powerless for ever after. In the me[an] time his allies were plundering the baggage and cattle.

* See page 58.

† See pages 58 and 72.

"The whole force being soon on the alert, Kámrán and his Afgháns had to beat a retreat; and the movement of the troops under Humáyún, on the opposite side of the Siyah-Áb, prevented them from reaching Kará-sú again, and so Kámrán, with the Khalíls and Mahmands, retired eastward, passed Jalál-ábád and Hindál-púr, and reached Bárík-Áb, where he took up his quarters among the Afgháns."

Humáyún followed in pursuit of him, and, having reached Jíryár or Jabíryár, of Nangrahár, which in other works is written Jabír-háe, on the hill slopes of the Spín Ghar range and Hindál-púr, there took up his position, and secured the safety of his camp by intrenchments and breastworks.

I regret I cannot identify this first-named place with any certainty, but somewhere about the "Jabbah" of our maps, five or six miles to the south of Baro, mentioned at page 48, appears to be the place.

Whilst here encamped, Kámrán and his Afghán allies made another night attack upon his brother's camp, on which occasion another brother, Mírzá Hindál, lost his life. Hindál was moving about within the breastwork held by the troops under his own command just at the time that the Afgháns attacked the camp at that very point. Hindál was not armed for the fight, and had merely his bow in his hand—carried by great men as an indication of rank—and two or three arrows. The Afgháns had reached the entrance of the camp, and one of them, on his left hand, cut at Hindál with his sword, on which the Mírzá, instinctively, raised his left hand to save his face. Báyazíd says, "the sword must have been a Barakkí blade, and newly sharpened, for it cut the Mírzá's forefinger lengthways into two slices. His assailant, swinging round his sword the second time in a horizontal direction, cut the unfortunate Hindál's head through from ear to ear, and the upper part rolled on the ground.

"The Yasáwal, 'Abd-ul-Wáhib, who was sent by Humáyún to see after the safety of his brother Hindál, in the confusion caused by the clamour and the yells of the Afgháns, was shot in the mouth with an arrow which came out at the back of his head, and one of the Bádsháh's soldiers, taking him for an Afghán, finished him.

"The din was so great that Humáyún rushed out of his tent, got on horseback, and took up his position on a mound which stood in the midst of the camp. It was previously determined that, in case of danger, the Bádsháh should proceed thither, and that there the troops would rally round him. Mun'im Beg, who was made Khán-i-Khánán 970 H. (1562–3 A.D.) by Akbar Bádsháh, came from his breastwork, and, joining Humáyún there, found him in tears. He inquired the cause, on which Humáyún said, "Have you not heard that they have killed poor Hindál"? The Beg replied, 'Do not grieve, for you have one enemy the less.'

"The attack did not succeed, and the Afgháns were beaten off with considerable loss. This event happened on the night of Sunday (our Saturday night: the night precedes the day in the computation of the Musalmáns), the 21st of Zí-Ka'dah, 958 H. (end of November, 1551 A.D.).

"The day after this untoward event Humáyún conferred the tománs of Ghaznín, Gardaiz, and other parts, the appanage held by his brother Hindál, upon his own son, the young prince Muhammad Akbar. Hindál was buried at Kábul near his father, Bábar Bádsháh."

After this affair Humáyún advanced to Bihsúd (Básaul) and halted, and remained there until the cold weather had passed. During this interval a strong fort was erected at Bihsúd, and after the cold season had passed the Bádsháh commenced operations against the Afgháns who had sheltered Mírzá Kámrán. He attacked them quite unexpectedly early one night in the neighbourhood of the Bísh-Bulák or The Five Springs. They had been left quiet so long that they were completely off their guard, and had quite settled down. The attack was completely successful, and 12,000 persons, male and female, and 300,000 sheep fell into the hands of the troops during that raid, and the wives and families of the Afgháns were ordered to be sold as slaves.

After this affair Kámrán fled to the Panjáb to Salím Khán, son of Sher Khán, the Núhání Súr, who had deprived his brother Humáyún of his throne; and Humáyún, after providing for the peace of that part of Nangrahár, returned to Kábul.

If it is determined to secure our hold on the Khaibar defiles now, once for all, the Bísh-Bulák is the spot for our position on the west side. This would not only command the Khaibar, but also the route into Tí-ráh, described at page 94.

After this digression I return to the account of the route.

"From Fath-ábád, likewise, two routes branch off. That on the left hand goes to Kajá, also written Kagá,* and the right-hand one is as follows. From Fath-ábád three

* *See* this route, at page 50.

kuroh west is Nímla'h, which is a large village of the Tájzíks, on the eastern bank of a little river which comes from the left hand, from the Tí-ráh range of mountains or Spín Ghar, and falls into the Shu'bah—signifying a cleft in a mountain range where water stagnates—of Kajá or Kagá. A small portion of the water of this river flows on to Fath-ábád, where it is drawn off for irrigating the fields and gardens of that place, and the rest flows past this village (Nímla'h) towards the east, and finally unites with the Surkh Rúd."

Jahán-gír Bádsháh says, respecting Nímla'h, that "the peasantry here are Laghmánís and Afghán Shál."

"There are also two roads from Nímla'h. The right-hand one runs to Gandamak, four kuroh west of Nímla'h. It is a large walled village belonging to the Khogíání Afgháns,* who also hold villages on the western bank of a little river to the immediate south, called the Nauyán, which stream also comes down from the great mountain range on the left-hand side, and, flowing to the left, enters the Surkh-Rúd.

"The left-hand road leads by Safed Sang, about two kuroh to the south-west, to Tútú, and on to Hisárak and But-Khák.

"Half a kuroh to the west of Gandamak, having descended to the bed of a rivulet and forded it, the ascent of the mountains begin, and this defile through which you pass they call the Surkh-Áb Kotal. It has an ascent and descent of three kuroh, and is tolerably even. On the west side of the Kotal is the Surkh-Áb or Surkh-Rúd—Red River—previously referred to at page 50. This river comes from the left hand and runs towards the right, and within three or four kuroh west of Jalál-ábád, near the Darúnthah mountain, joins the river of Kábul. It can be forded in the winter season, the water reaching to the knees, but in the hot season, when the snows melt in the mountains to the west, it is quite unfordable. At the point where the road crosses it there is a fine bridge of good width, some 200 gaz long, built of stone, brick, and lime, of one arch only. It was erected by 'Alí Mardán Khán, the first of that title, who gave up Kandahár to the officers of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, and they call it the Pul or Bridge of Surkh-Áb.

"At this bridge a road from Bálá Bágh again joins the Sháh-Ráh or King's Road. Setting out from Bálá Bágh you leave this road, which goes by Nímla'h, and you descend into the bed of the Surkh-Áb, and keep along the valley in which it runs, crossing some small streams coming from the mountain range which bounds the valley to the north. Continuing to follow the course of the river, you reach a Tájzík village called Kangḳrak-i-Pá'ín† or Lower Kangḳrak, where a small stream from the southward joins the Surkh-Áb, and where there are several *smats* or caves. There is a road (path) from thence over the hills to the village of Nímla'h three kuroh distant, and to Bálá Bágh two kuroh.

"Proceeding from Kangḳrak, still going up the valley of the Surkh-Áb, with lofty hills on either side, you at last reach the high road again at the afore-mentioned bridge. Another route runs from this bridge to the southwards across the country to Hisárak, previously referred to, and then, leaving that place on the left hand, you can cross over the Kotal of Karkachah to Tezín. The village of Tútú, mentioned at page 96, lies two kuroh nearly due south from this bridge.

"To continue the route by the Sháh-Ráh.

"Three kuroh north-west and west of the Surkh-Áb is the Chaukí (signifying a post or place where a guard is stationed) of Báwalí,‡ which lies near on the left-hand side, the ascent being gradual. After proceeding another three kuroh from thence in the same direction, the road winding and still ascending, you reach the Chaukí of Kímah, the name of a halting place now wholly deserted. You pass by the way, on the left hand, the bed of a rivulet overgrown with reeds or a giant grass with a feathery flower, called *badá-gál* in Pus'hto, and *lúkha'h* in Persian, and from the latter word the place is known as Lúkhey.§ The village of Hisárak, which will be again mentioned in another route farther on, and lies about four kuroh over the hills, may be reached from this place. From it Jalál-ábád may also be reached in one direction

* The Ghalzí Afgháns have greatly encroached upon the country of the Khogíání tribe, which formerly possessed the tracts to the eastward of But-Khák, now held by the Jabbár Khel Ghalzís. No Afgháns, however, extend so far east as Jalál-ábád in the Nangrahár district.

† There are two villages named Kangḳrak (*g* and *ḳ* constantly come together in Turkish proper names, as in the name of the celebrated tribe of Kangḳur-át, in that of Ungḳút, Tingḳut, &c., in lieu of *gh*), the village here mentioned, and the other styled Kangḳrak-i-'Ulyá or Bálá, signifying "upper," distant from the village referred to above one kuroh west.

‡ Also written Bháwalí. Afgháns have an objection to aspirates—their language eschews them, and such words as the above are of Hindí origin.

§ Wygram Battye was killed here.

by another route, and, in the opposite direction, Jagdálík may be reached from Jalál-ábád by a route which joins this one at Chaukí-i-Báwalí.

"At Chaukí-i-Kímah the road lies close to and in the dry bed of a river, which, in the hot season, rushes down the valley to Kangkrak-i-Pá'ín or Lower Kangkrak (there is another village called Higher Kangkrak previously mentioned), and joins the Surkh-Rúd or Surkh-Áb. At other seasons it is dry or nearly so. The mountains show themselves on the right and left as you proceed along the road. You now begin to ascend higher; and one kuroh north from the last-mentioned Chaukí, at the top of the Kotal, is the Kala' or Fort of Chashan, a small hisár or fortress on the summit of an eminence of the mountains, and on either side, right and left, are immense abysses and ravines, and clefts, and precipices, and there is no other road for travellers save in passing close to this fortress.* This Kotal marks or forms the boundary between the Kábul and Jalál-ábád provinces. The village of Karkachah, which lies some distance on the left hand, high up on a ridge of the mountains, can be seen from this point.

"Having descended a quarter of a kuroh from the Kala'-i-Chashan, towards the north, the descent being steep, with dwarf trees on either hand, you proceed, still descending, in a westerly direction. Winding through a *tangí* or defile in the mountains, for half a kuroh, with similar trees still on both sides, the hills on the left hand being lower than those on the right, which are high and abrupt, you reach the dry bed of a river (dry in the winter season),† which (when full) comes from the left hand, and runs to the right, and joins the river of Kábul. Proceeding onward along the bed of this river for another kuroh, still descending, the road opening as you move onwards, you reach Jagdálík, also written Jagdálik, and Jagdalaey.‡

"Jagdálík, situated on a lofty mound, is the desolate site of an ancient ruined city. Near this mound, in the valley, there is a small river containing an unceasing supply of good water, which, farther down, joins the dry bed of the river previously mentioned (before entering Jagdálík), and runs towards the north. South of the village, on the south side or bank of the river, is one shop occupied by a Hindú chandler or grocer, and another by a baker. There are a few shady amlúk trees near, planted by Ahmad Sháh, Durrání; and at this place travellers alight and make it their halting place."§

West of Jagdálík the Sulímán Khel Ghalzí country begins. The greatest chief among them, at the time these routes were written, was 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, of the family of Mahmúd, Ghalzí, ruler of Kandahár, and conqueror of the Safawí dynasty. 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, incorrectly styled "Abdooreheem" by Elphinstone, bore the title of Ikhlás Kulí Khán from the Persians, rebelled against the Sadozís in 1801, and set himself up as king. The Ghalzís assembled in great force, and, in November of that year, threatened Ghaznín, but sustained a check, not a "crushing defeat," as we are told in the "Geographical Magazine" for November, 1878, in the engagement at Shujá-wand, mentioned at page 72, from the Durránís under the Mukhtár-ud-Daulah.‖ They subsequently were overthrown, with the loss of 3,000 men killed in the battle and pursuit, near Kala'-i-Sháhí, within a few miles of Kábul. They were not crushed, however, nor completely overcome, until May, 1802, in an engagement at Mullá Shádí.

In the reign of Aurangzeb Bádsháh, on the occasion previously referred to, Fidá-e Khán, the Súbah-dár of Kábul, wanted to proceed from Kábul to Pas'háur by way of Jalál-ábád. Aghúz Khán was then occupying a fortified position at Gandamak, but Fidá-e Khán did not think fit (out of jealousy, apparently) to avail himself of Aghúz Khán's aid, proceeded onwards from thence towards Jalál-ábád, and soon after sustained a severe repulse, and had to obtain help from Aghúz Khán after all. In the

* During the reign of Aurangzeb Bádsháh, after sustaining so many defeats in the different attempts to force the Khaibar, and keep open the road between Pes'háwar and Kábul, the Mughals established a series of strong posts along the route. There was one at Bárík-Áb, another at Jagdálík, a third at the Surkh-Áb, and a fourth at Gharíb Khána'h, besides the fort and station of Jalál-ábád, and other smaller posts between the larger ones.

† Jahán-gír Bádsháh says: "I then proceeded by Surkh-Áb and Jagdálík. Although there were no defiles to pass, yet the road was full of stones and boulders." From thence he proceeded by Bárík-Áb, the Yúrat-i-Bádsháh, and Kábul-i-Khúrd, to Kábul city.

‡ The Sayyid, Ghulám Muhammad, says this place is twelve kos from Gandamak.

§ It was here that the unfortunate Sháh-i-Zamán was blinded by the Bárakzí faction, in A.D. 1800. His name was not "Zamaun Shah."

‖ Sir J. Kaye, in his "*History of the Afghan War*," writes this title in a strange manner, Mooktor-ood-Dowlah. Mukhtár-ud-Daulah signifies Director or Superintendent of the State. His name was Sher Muhammad Khán, and, as he knew the whole Kur'án by heart, he is styled Háfiz.—The Háfiz, Sher Muhammad Khán.

Jagdálík pass or dara'h (*see* Kala'-i-Chashan, page 57), a well known place, and one of the most difficult, great rocks were rolled down upon the Mughal force, but Fidá-e Khán was enabled to reach Jalál-ábád.

Bábar says in his Tuzúk that, when he set out from Kábul, in 913 H. (September, 1507 A.D.), with the intention of invading Hind, the Afgháns located between Kábul and Lamghán thought it a good opportunity to attack his force, thinking he was leaving for Hind, and so, the morning he marched from Jagdálík, he says, "the "Afgháns around, such as the Khizr Khel, Shamú Khel, Kharlakhí, and Khogíání, "sought to close the Kotal against us. They appeared in strength on the hills to the "north, with drums beating, standards waving, brandishing their swords, and showing "the Afghán gasconade. They were however driven off, and we reached the Tomán "of Nangnahár, and encamped before the gate of the fort of Adínah-púr."

When Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother, incited by Farídún, his maternal uncle, invaded the Panjáb, in 989 H. (April 1581, A.D.), and again retired to Kábul, on the approach of his brother, he made his way back by crossing the Bihat or Jhilam near Báhrah, and by the Kahár Pass and the Gahep route across the Indus. Akbar advanced towards Kábul by the Níl-áb, another name for the Sind river or Indus, which was anciently called the Sind-Ságar (the Sanskrit for sea or ocean), and at this time numbers of Afgháns presented themselves. Akbar gave orders for building the fort of Atak Banáras, near the junction of the river of Kábul with the Sind. The Kunwar, Mán Singh, was ordered to cross the river and occupy Pas'háur, and Prince Muhammad Murád, Akbar's son, was sent with him. He then proceeded by Daulat-ábád to the fort of Bagrám (near Pes'háwar).

While Akbar, who had crossed the Sind in the sixth month of 989 H. (middle of June, 1581, A.D.), was advancing by the Khaibar route, Muhammad Hakím proposed to leave Kábul and take the Bangas'h route into India, and foment troubles therein, but he appears to have abandoned the intention.

Akbar continued his advance by Jam-rúd, Dhákab, a long march to Láchí-púr, then to Jalál-ábád, and the next march the Bágh-i-Safá was reached. Here news reached him that the Afgháns (the Sulímán Khels probably) had closed the road in advance. His next march was to Gandamak, but how it fared with his troops in front is not stated. His son, the Sháh-zádah, Muhammad Murád, who nominally commanded the troops in advance, but the Kunwar, Mán Singh, in reality, had by this time, reached within seven or eight kuroh of Kábul by the same route. On this Muhammad Hakím came out of Kábul, with his forces, by the Khúrd Kábul route, and attacked Muhammad Murád, consequently Akbar, his father, did not deem it advisable to proceed farther until news of the capture of Kábul should reach him.

The particulars are thus given. Farídún was in ambush at Bíní-Badr, which is between But-Khák and Do-ába'h. On the day that the Sháh-zádah, Muhammad Murád, marched from Bárík-Áb, Farídún threw himself upon his rear, upon his equipage and baggage, and some of it was carried away. The rear-guard, however, succeeded in driving Farídún off, and he retired to Badám Chashma'h, whilst part of his force went to Korkíáe (another MS. has Korkasáe) and Ulugh-púr. The next night fires were seen lighted upon all the mountain sides, and there was great tumult and outcry made all around, in order to intimidate Akbar's troops, and a night attack was made upon them, both on the right and left of their position. The Kábul forces were however beaten off. On the 1st of Rajab, Mírzá Muhammad Hakím issued from the defile and showed himself with his troops, but, after some fighting, he was compelled to retire. The following morning, Farídún again appeared upon the scene, and Naurang Khán, one of the officers with the advance of Muhammad Murád, encountered him, but was overpowered and forced back. This raised the hopes of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím and his forces, and he again advanced from the head of the defile into the plain against the Sháh-zádah, and very nearly succeeded in gaining a victory. Mán Singh now put his own force in motion, and despatched a body of his best troops to the scene of action, and the elephants were also brought to the front. The upshot was that the Kábul troops were, in their turn, overpowered and repulsed with considerable slaughter. Mírzá Muhammad Hakím fled, and succeeded in reaching Kará-Bágh; and afterwards hastened to Ushtur-ghach, and from thence retired to the Ghúrband.

After this success, the Sháh-zádah advanced to the jal-gáh of Siyah-Sang,—we had a camp there at the time of the outbreak at Kábul, in November 1842, under the command of Brigadier Shelton,—and Akbar, who had received news of this victory at Jagdálík, as already stated, marched next day to Bárík-Áb, and from thence to But-Khák, and on to Kábul.

Mírzá Muhammad Hakím in a few days presented himself and was forgiven, and was left as before in possession of the territory of Zábulistán and Kábul. Akbar, after spending twenty days at Kábul, set out on his return to India.

Some of the writers of his reign state that Akbar was at the Surkh-Áb at this time, while Faizí, the Sarhindí, says a battle took place between the two forces outside the Shutar Gardana'h *tangí* or defile near Kábul-i-Khúrd, not the "Shooturgurdun" that we have heard so much of lately, for there are several gardana'hs, *i.e.*, defiles or gorges, of this name; that west of the Paiwar Kotal is quite out of the way of these operations. It was after this affair that Kásim Khán was sent to improve the road by the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah and the Khaibar defile, mentioned at page 39.

To return to the route again.

"Another road branches off from Jagdálík in the direction between west and north, called the Dara'h-i-Parián, the Defile or Pass of the Fairies, but it is a much more roundabout way, and by it to Bárík-Ab the distance is about twelve kuroh, but the route given under is the Sháh-Rah or Royal Road."

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad computes the distance from Jagdálík to Bárík-Áb, in the direction of south-west, at eight kos, and by the Dara'h-i-Parián, in the direction of west and north, at thirty kos, which, certainly, is too great.

"From Jagdálík you descend into the dara'h or valley in which the stream runs, and ascend to the opposite side, and on the summit are the walls of two old forts.* Having proceeded three kuroh, in a direction north and afterwards north-west, passing the walls of a small square building, you reach the Taudah-i-Sang-reza'h—the mound or heap of stones or large pebbles—which lies near by on the right-hand side of the way. From this point the mountains of perpetual snow show themselves both on the right and left hand (the Hindú Koh and Spín-Ghar ranges), and the Tag-áo valley can be plainly seen on the right hand.

"Having passed the Taudah-i-Sang-reza'h, going over an open but uneven tract for half a kuroh, you reach the dry bed of a river, and from thence, proceeding up the river bed for two kuroh, in a westerly direction, you reach Bárík-Áb, which is also called Bárah Gáo,† the name of a desolate halting place or station. The former name is derived from a small rivulet, whose source is a spring which bubbles out here, and which flows towards the east and is lost. In the hot season, when the snow melts, the water of this stream increases greatly, and flows six or seven kuroh to the east to join the river of Kábul.‡

"Proceeding from Bárík-Áb and ascending half a kuroh to the north-west, and then descending in the same direction for one kuroh, you reach the Tezín, also written Teza'í, which is the name of a considerable river, which comes from the left hand from Khúrd or Little Kábul, and, flowing towards the right hand for three or four kuroh, and passing But-Khák on the east, joins the river of Kábul.

"At this point two roads branch off to the right and left, that on the left goes to Khúrd Kábul."

This route turns the Latah-Band Pass, as the Latah-Band turns this. The road commences beneath the Kotal, and proceeding by the Kabr-i-Jabbár—Jabbár's Grave§—near which are some *smats* or caves on the left hand, through a most difficult tract, opens out at last upon Khúrd Kábul.

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad says it is exceedingly cold by this route at all times of the year, that even in the hot season few follow it, and that the Sháh-Ráh, or that pursued by Tímúr Sháh's troops, is by the Latah Band Kotal.||

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* This is the very place where the last stand was made in the disastrous retreat from Kábul, and the stream the identical one mentioned by Eyre in his narrative. He says, "About 3 p.m., the advance reached Jugdaluk, and took up its position behind some ruined walls that crowned a height by the road side. * * * * * The exhausted troops and followers began to suffer greatly from thirst, which they were unable to satisfy. A tempting stream trickled near the foot of the hill, but to venture down it was certain death." Page 224.

† Possibly meant for Bárík-Áb.

‡ The courses of the rivers marked in the Indian Atlas map, in this direction, are purely imaginary.

§ Invariably written incorrectly, as "Kubbur Jabbár," "Kubbur-i-Jabbar," "Kala Jabar," and even "Kubbur-i-Zubbar." In the Indian Atlas map we have two places for this one. "K. Jubar," and another about two miles south-east of it styled "Kuburi Jubar," and in the map to the first number of the "Royal Geographical Society's Proceedings" "Jabar" only.

|| It certainly is a much longer way from Kábul-i-Khúrd to Jagdálík by the Kabr-i-Jabbár, and very difficult, certainly more so than by the Latah-Band Kotal, and yet the former was chosen for the army to take in the disastrous retreat in the month of January too.

In the map of the "Kyber, Karkatcha, and Kurram Passes," in the "Geographical Magazine," for November, 1878, the whole route from "Barikab" to "Muradund" appears quite level, and yet, for greater part of the way, it is a maze of broken country, with hills of greater and lesser elevation.

"By the right-hand route you proceed half a kuroh from the river of Tezín or Teza'í in the direction of west, ascending until you gain the crest of the mountains, and then, descending one kuroh in the same direction, you reach a little river, which also comes from the left hand or south and runs to the right, and falls into the river of Kábul. You then proceed one kuroh and a half in a direction between west and south-west, and ascend for a distance of another kuroh and a half up the mountains, which having gained, you descend again in a direction north-west and west, and reach the Manzil-i-Ghalzí, or the Ghalzí Halting Place or Stage. At this place a little water issues from the foot of the mountains, which the Ghalzí tribe use in irrigating their cultivated lands, and this defile they style the Kotal-i-Latah-Band, signifying the pass where rags and tatters are hung up. It is called by this name because most wayfarers, on reaching the crest of this Kotal, hang up their old clothes or rags on the branch of a tree. The elevation here is excessive, and the city of Kábul can be distinctly seen away in the west.* Proceeding from the Manzil-i-Ghalzí into the dry bed of a river in the direction of north for half a kuroh, you ascend the defile to the crest of the mountains on the left-hand side. This defile they call the Kotal of Mír Khán. It is extremely arduous and difficult, and you have to dismount and leave your horses, mules, camels, and other animals, to take their own course and pick their way as best they can.† The ascent is nearly half a kuroh, and parallel with the road, on the right hand, is a yawning precipice. The summit lies close by on the left-hand side, and on the right are abysses, and through them the stream from Zaffar Khán flows and joins the river of Kábul.

"From the crest of the afore-mentioned Kotal you proceed one kuroh in the direction of west and north-west, with a lofty mountain (range?) close by on the left-hand side, and deep abysses on the right. After this you proceed half a kuroh to the north, and afterwards about the same distance in the direction of north-east, through a defile of the mountains, when you reach the kalaey or village of Zaffar Khán.‡ It is a small deserted village, lying near by the road on the left-hand side; on the right there is a little spring, which, issuing from the foot of the mountains, forms a small river, which, entering the gorge just before traversed, runs away to the right hand. It contains about water enough to turn one mill.

"Continuing onwards from this ruined village for about half a kuroh west and north-west, you enter a small gorge, which is pretty even, called the Kotal-i-Zaffar. The Ghalzí tribe extends as far as this defile in the direction of Kábul. After this, having got over another kuroh of ascents and descents, you reach open level ground again, with the mountains distant on either hand.

"From the Kotal-i-Zaffar to the city of Kábul, which is distant nearly seven kuroh, the road lies over this open tract of country, which depends chiefly on rain for irrigation, but there is some land irrigated artificially from the Logar river, which intersects it from north to south. It is in this open tract that the royal armies encamp.

"Khúrd Kábul from this point lies three or four kuroh on the left hand (south) side, hidden by the veil of mountains. Proceeding onwards for another kuroh and a half over this open tract, in the direction of south-west, inclining west, you reach But-Khák, a large village belonging to the Tájzíks, who extend as far as Kábul and beyond. The name, signifying Idol Dust, is derived, according to the traditions of the people, from the circumstance of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghaznín having brought some large idols from Hindústán, which he had broken up and pounded into dust at this place; and it is further affirmed that jewels, to the value of many lakhs of rupees, were found deposited in the bellies of these idols.§ From that day, they say, this place was called But-Khák, but some native authors, who exaggerate in all they write about, make this circumstance take place at Somnáth.

"From Gandamak to this place there are no villages by the way, and no habitations, and traders and travellers have to provide themselves with food and forage for the journey.

* The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad states that "the site of the ancient city of Zábul, referred to in another place farther on, lies forty kos south-west from the Latah-Band Kotal.

† It has been asserted that this route is only available for men on foot, but this shows that, although difficult, like the other roads, it is not impracticable, and is certainly much the shortest. No doubt a little engineering would soon render it practicable enough.

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad considers the distance between the Latah-Band Pass and Kábul to be nine kos, six of which is ascent, and three descent towards the city. He says the road is not very difficult.

‡ Called the Chaukí-i-Zaffar by the Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad, who says it is a halting place for káfilahs and travellers, below or at the foot of the mountains.

§ It is very probably the site of the ancient idol temple of Shá-Bihár, referred to farther on.

It was at But-Khák that 'Alí Mardán Khán, after he had given up Kandahár, was received by the Sháh-zádah, Shujá', who had been deputed by his father, Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, for that purpose.

"The river of Kábul passes below the village (*sic.* in MSS.) in the direction of north-west and north, and the cultivators have cut a canal from thence, and conveyed the water into their lands. Khúrd Kábul lies about three kuroh on the left hand from But-Khák.

"From Jam-rúd to Bhatí-Kot, and from Gandamak to this place, But-Khák, the mountain ranges on either hand are lofty, and the defiles great. The snowy mountains on the right are a long distance off, but those on the left-hand side lie near by, and can be seen from most places by the way.

"From But-Khák, a kuroh and a half in the same direction as before (south-west, inclining west), is the kalaey or village of Táj Khán,* which lies near the road on the right-hand side, and the village of Úshínáh appears at the distance of one kuroh on the right hand. From the kalaey of Táj Khán, one kuroh west, is the brick bridge called the Pul-i-Bagrámí, over the river of Kábul, and this river they here call the river of Logar. The village of Úshínáh, just before mentioned, appears on the right hand, about half a kuroh distant.

"Bagrámí† is not the name of one village but of several, belonging to the Tájzíks, lying along the west bank of the before mentioned river, on the left-hand side, near the road. The cultivators have brought the water of this river into their lands as far as the Dih-i-(village of) Ya'kúb.‡

"From Bagrámí, three kuroh and a half to the west, is the Dár-ul-Mulk, or capital city of Kábul, which you enter by the Láhorí gateway. The Bálá Hisár or citadel, which is the place of residence of the Bádsháh, Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, lies near by on the left hand, while the old or ancient Hisár, which is separate from the city, lies at a distance, on a ridge of the mountains, also on the left hand. The villages of Kalái-chah, Subúkí, also written Shúbúkí and Makara'í, also written Magara'í &c., six or seven in all, also lie on the left-hand side of the road."

Although Kábul§ does not possess, as far as we know or have discovered, any extensive remains of antiquity, it is known to Oriental history from the earliest times. Zábul, however, is mentioned as a distinct place, and should not be mistaken for it or confused with it, for we find Kábul, Zábul, and Ghaznín often mentioned in the same sentence.

Kábul is mentioned in the reign of Kai-Ká-ús, the second monarch of the Kai-ániah dynasty; and is afterwards referred to as the appanage of Rustam, whose mother is said to have been the daughter of Mihráb-Sháh, the Tází or Tájzík, of the race of Zuhák (*see* my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 308, note 2). Rustam is said to have held Sijistán and Nímroz, Kábul and Zábul, Hind and Sind; and up to this day tradition speaks of Rustam's possessions in the present Bannú district, and people point out the site of an ancient city of his, as will be mentioned farther on.

The name of Kábul, however, does not occur in the accounts of the Greeks unless Kábura refers to it, nor does it appear, I believe, on any of the coins of the Greek-Bakhtrián rulers.

Harmuz, son of Narsí, the fourth ruler of the Sásánián dynasty, married a daughter of the Malik of Kábul, and Kábul and Zábul are enumerated among the cities and provinces contained in the empire of Núshírwán the Just, the first of the Akásirah rulers.

When the Arab invaders appeared in Khurásán, Kábul, that is to say what constituted the Sarkar of Kábul under Akbar, including the Ghaznín district, was ruled by a Hindú king, whose authority probably extended farther east, and who most likely

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* Turned into "Tez Khan" in the Indian Atlas map.

† This name in maps and gazetteers is incorrectly spelt "Bugramee," "Baguramee," &c. The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad says: "But-Khák is a village of the Tájzíks, who, in Hindústán, are styled Dih-káns, and these people are very rebellious. South of this place is a mountain range, in which direction they possess several towns and villages, including Bagrámí and Kamárí or Gamárí."

‡ This place was Bábar's first march when he set out for India and conquered the Delhí kingdom. When he marched from Kábul on his expedition against the Yúsufzís, which will be mentioned in connexion with the routes north of the Kábul river, he encamped in the *ulang* or *jal-gáh*, on the 13th of Ramazán, 930 H. (July, 1523, A.D.), on the Kábul side of the Dih-i-Ya'kúb, and here the Dilazák Afghán deputation waited on him. On the 16th he again marched, passed beyond But-Khák, and encamped, as he always did, when proceeding by that road, on the banks of the river of this But-Khák (the Tezín river). On the 21st he reached Badám Chashma'h, and next day Bárík-Áb, and went and visited the garden at Kará-tú.

§ The correct pronunciation of the name of this city in the original is Ká-bul, with long *a* and short *u*, but Elphinstone, who apparently endeavoured to give the Shírází Persian pronunciation to such Tájzík words, wrote it Cau-bul; but in lexicographical works it is explained in writing as I have rendered it. I mention it here because it appears in Government maps and official documents as Kabool and Cabool, with the wrong syllable lengthened, and Cabul, Kabul, and even Kábal.

was subordinate or subject to the Hindú sovereigns of the present Panjáb and Upper India. The title of the Kábul ruler was Sháh, and Ranbal, Rantil, Ratpal, Rantal or Rantil, as it is variously written by different authors, but Zantíl and Zanbíl by Yáfa'í and Fasih-í was the name of the dynasty or family. The correct reading may be Ratan-pál or Rin-pál.

In 22 H. (642, A.D.) Mukrán and Sind were subdued by the 'Arabs, and in the following year Sijistán. In 30 H. (650–51, A.D.), Hirát, and its dependencies of Bádghais and Fúshanj were given up. The treaty was dated 26th of Ramazán, 30 H. In 32 H. (652–53, A.D.) all the territory between Marw and Balkh was subdued, such as Marw-ar-Rúd, Tál-kán, and the Gúzgánán (Júzjánán of 'Arabs). In 43 H. (663–64, A.D.) the 'Arabs invaded the territory of Kábul, under 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, son of Sumrah, who was the lieutenant of 'Abd-ullah, son of 'Amír, governor of Khurásán. He marched from Sijistán after capturing the capital of that country. Kábul Sháh, at that period, was known by the title or name of 'Arij, but this appears to be an 'Arabic word, and signifies lameness from birth. He moved out with his forces to meet the Musalmán invaders, and after a severe battle retired within the walls of Kábul, and did not sally out again. 'Abd-ur-Rahmán continued before it for a full year, after which, his army having suffered great fatigue and hardships, the place was taken. The fighting men were put to the sword, and the women and children were made captives. The Kábul Sháh was also taken, and his head was ordered to be struck off, but he was spared on his agreeing to become a convert to Islám. He was then received into favour, a tribute was fixed, and the Musalmáns retired.

Subsequently, the countries lying near Hind and Sind were subdued.

In 78 H. (697–98, A.D.), the Khalífah, 'Abd-ul-Malik, sent 'Ubaid-ullah, son of 'Abú-Bakr or Bakrah, to Sijistán, and directed him to make war upon the Malik of Kábul, Zantbíl (Ratan-pál ?), who had become contumacious, although he had previously been obedient and paid tribute, to demolish his fortresses, and reduce him to submission. Others say that Hajjáj-i-Ṣafík sent him to Kábul.

'Ubaid-ullah in the following year set out with the divisions of Basrah and Kúfah for the Kábul territory, and as he advanced Zantbíl [Ratan-pál ?] retired, without fighting, in the direction of Hind (that is, eastward) until he had drawn the Musalmáns about 17 leagues among the defiles and passes (between Kábul and Jagdálík). The Malik of Kábul then gave command to his people to occupy all the passes and defiles in rear of the Musalmáns, and cut off their retreat. This proved most disastrous for them, for, after making one desperate effort to break through, they were reduced to a state of starvation, and 'Ubaid-ullah had to enter into an agreement with Zantbíl (Ratan-pál) to pay the sum of 700,000 dínárs to be allowed to retire from the Kábul territory.

It is said that, when his wearied and half-starved troops reached Musalmán ground, and their own people brought forth food and relieved their necessities, many eat their fill and fell down dead immediately after.

When the year 80 H. (699–700, A.D.) came round, 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, son of Muhammad-i-Ásh'as, was appointed to avenge this disaster at the head of 40,000 men. Zantbíl (Ratan-pál ?) sent to him offering to pay the same amount of tribute as had been formerly fixed, and desired 'Abd-ur-Rahmán to retire under those terms. He refused. On this the Kábul ruler again tried his previous tactics, and receded as the Musalmáns advanced. 'Abd-ur-Rahmán was too cautious. He left garrisons in the places he subdued, and bodies of troops to occupy and hold the defiles and passes he left behind him. After having made considerable progress, and the season being advanced, he determined to carry on no further operations for that year, but await the coming one, in order to complete the subjugation of the Kábul territory.

He reported these matters to Hajjáj, who held the government of all the eastern parts of the Khalífah's territories, who harshly reprimanded him, and directed him to at once resume operations. This caused 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, who was already hostile to Hajjáj, to determine to rebel against the tyrant. He accordingly made peace with Zantbíl (Ratan-pál ?) on favourable terms, and openly declared against Hajjáj.

Between him and the officers of Hajjáj no less than eighty encounters are said to have taken place. 'Abd-ur-Rahmán was, in the end, reduced to great straits, and finally overcome by Yazíd, the son of Muhallab, in 81 H. (700–701, A.D.), and compelled to fly. He took shelter within the walls of Bust, which was held by one of his own subordinates named 'Iyáz. He seized and imprisoned 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, and proposed to send him to Hajjáj. Zantbíl (Ratan-pál ?) immediately, on hearing of this, marched his forces to Bust and invested it on all sides, and threatened 'Iyáz and all within the place with impalement if a hair of the head of 'Abd-ur-Rahmán should be injured, and

that he would never leave the place until he should be released. This had the desired effect, and he was set at liberty, and took refuge, with Zantbíl (Ratan-pál?). Hajjáj, some time after, sent an agent to that ruler making him very advantageous offers, and requiring him to give up 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, which he did, along with eighteen of his kinsmen, in the year 82 H. (701–702, A.D.), but on the road back, 'Abd-ur-Rahmán succeeded in throwing himself from the flat roof of a building in which they had alighted to rest, and dragged the agent with him. Both perished.

Kábul is again mentioned as having been "reduced," in 87 H. (706, A.D.). It consequently must have temporarily thrown off the 'Arab yoke. In the year 90 H. (709, A.D.) Zantbíl or Ratan-pál, or Rin-pál, or whatever his title may have been, agreed to aid the Maliks of Balkh, Marw-ar-Rúd, Tál-kán, Fáryáb, and the Gúzgánán (Júzjánán of 'Arabs), against Katíbah, son of Musallam-ul-Báhilí. Hajjáj died in 95 H. (713–14, A.D.).

In 150, H. (767, A.D.) Ma'an, son of Zá'idah-ush-Shaibání, the Amír of Sijistán, on the part of the Khalífah, demanded the tribute from Zantbíl (Ratan-pál?) ruler of Kábul and Zábul. The latter sent property and goods, the produce of his territory, instead of money, and set a very high price upon them. This enraged Ma'an, who marched his troops against him. He sent forward his brother Yazíd, in advance, into the territory of Rukh (I have read this Rukh, but the word is Zih—زح,—and read either way will not enable us, at present, to understand with any certainty what territory is referred to, unless we add a ز, when it would refer to Rukhj, one of the districts of the territory of Bust*). Zantbíl (Ratan-pál?) fled from thence, and retired to Kábul. Ma'an overran the Rukh territory, slew a number of people, and obtained spoil to a great amount.

In 152 H. (769, A.D.), the Khalífah, Mansúr, sent Hamíd, son of Kahtabah, into Khurásán, and he penetrated into Kábul, and made holy war.

In the year 170 H. (786–87, A.D.) Hárún-ar-Rashíd sent Bú-Ja'fir, son of Muhammad, as governor to Khurásán. "He despatched his son 'Abbás, in Zí-Hijah (the "last month—July) of the same year, to Kábul. He seized the ancient and famous "idol temple of Shá-Bihár, in the neighbourhood of Kábul," which is also sometimes called "Sháh Kábul," the site of which most probably is But-Khák, for it is stated that around about the temple was an extensive uncultivated plain, or, possibly, the site known as Bagrám may have been the spot. 'Abbás made prize of all the wealth contained in it.† Hárún-ar-Rashíd soon after this recalled Bú-Ja'fir, and appointed 'Abbás, his son, governor of Khurásán in his place.

Ya'kúb, son of Lais, the suffár or brazier, ruler of Sijistán, son of Mu'addil, a man of unknown birth, in the year 256 H. (870, A.D.) possessed himself of Kábul, at which time also it was an important place. After the downfall of the Suffárís, the old rulers of Kábul, who were subject to that dynasty, appear to have again acquired some independence, for we hear nothing of Kábul or Ghaznín being subject to the Sámánís, who were Tájzíks,‡ for some time after they succeeded the Suffárís in Khurásán and Sijistán, and their dependencies. Subsequently Ghaznín is distinctly mentioned as part of the Sámání empire, and Kábul was subject to it, although its Hindú rulers still possessed it. Ghaznín was held by a succession of Turk governors from the time that Alb-Tigín, in 322 H. (934 A.D.), dispossessed a ruler there whose family name was Lawík,§ but of whom very little is known, except that they were Musalmáns,

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* I believe, after all, that what is supposed to be Rukhj, is correctly Zaranj, called after the city of that name. *See* "Translation of Tabakát-i-Násirí, page 318, note 6.

† Bihár (or Wihár), also written Bahár, signifies an idol temple, and an idol; and the chief idol temple of Chín, and principal átash-kadah or fire-temple of Turkistán, is also styled Bihár in the old Persian language. *Vide* Burhán-i-Katí'. Possibly the Hindús of Kábul, at the present day, have some knowledge of the site of this famous temple, for there are many places near Kábul which they venerate and pay visits to.

It was on this same plain of Shá-Bihár that Sultán Mahmúd of Ghaznín, after his campaign against Nanda Rájah of Gwáliyúr, reviewed his forces in the year 414 H. (A.D., 1023), and 54,000 well-equipped cavalry were there present, together with 1,300 elephants in defensive armour. This force, the Gardaizí says, was quite independent of other troops doing duty in different parts, which were not assembled to swell the number for the occasion, and that the horses and camels were almost beyond computation.

There must have been other idol temples named Shá-Bihár, or probably it was the general name applied to such temples, for there was another two stages from Kal'át-i-Ghalzí, near the scene of the Ghalzís' defeat by Nádir Sháh, which will be referred to hereafter, near the Ghazín road. My Tokhí Ghalzí Maulawí informed me that he had often noticed the site, consisting of several mounds, and that the whole country near it is almost red with the fragments of bricks and tiles and other articles of pottery lying about.

‡ The Sámánís, it is said, were Mughs, or followers of Zardusht, before their conversion to Muhammadanism.

§ Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., in his "Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857," page 78,

and probably Tájzíks, and that little is to be found in my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí" and notes, pages 71 to 73.

After Alb-Tigín died in 352 H. (963, A.D.), his son Ishák succeeded as governor on the part of the Sámánís, but he was ousted by Abú-'Alí, the Lawík, who was hostile to them. Ishák was restored by the forces of Amír Mansúr, son of Núh, the eighth sovereign of the Sámání dynasty, and died in 355 H. (966, A.D.). Balká-Tigín, a Turk slave of Ishák's father, and commander of his forces, succeeded by order of the Sámání ruler. He died in 362 H. (972–73, A.D.), and Pírey, another of Alb-Tigín's slaves, succeeded to the government, and Sabuk-Tigín, father of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghaznín, a third slave of Alb-Tigín's, commanded the troops. Pírey was a great villain, and the people of Ghaznín were so disgusted with him that they invited Abú-'Alí, the Lawík, to return and assume authority. He acceded to their request, and with him, as an ally, came the son of the Sháh of Kábul.* This is described by one of the early Muhammadan writers as an invasion by a body of infidels who had advanced out of Hind,—Kábul was included in Hind at that time,—but they were defeated by Pírey, aided by Sabuk-Tigín, near Charkh, a well known and very ancient place, mentioned at page 73, and put to flight.

Pírey was, however, deposed in 367 H. (977–78, A.D.), some say in the previous year, and the people chose Sabuk-Tigín for their Governor, and he was confirmed in the office by the Sámání sovereign.

In the map given in the "Masálik wa Mamálik," the Hírmand is styled "the river of Hind and Sind," and the tract east of it as Hind and Sind. Kábul is mentioned in the same work, which was written, or rather composed, about this time. It says:—"Kábul has a kuhandujz, or citadel, of great strength, and by one road alone can it "be approached. The Musalmáns hold the fortress, but the Hindú infidels hold the "suburb or town without the walls. It is said that a Sháh—the Hindú rulers of "Kábul are styled 'Kábul Sháh'—is not legally entitled to be considered a sovereign "until he is inaugurated and allegiance is pledged to him at Kábul, however far he "may be away from it." It further states that Kábul is a province of Hind.†

The Gardaizí, Abú-Sa'íd-i-'Abd-ul-Hai, says that Amír, Abú-Mansúr, Násir-ud-Din-i-Sabuk-Tigín, the Hájib, obtained possession of Ghaznín, Barwán, Kábul, and Bust, and other territories which the Ghuláms of Kará-Tigín had previously held.

Towards the termination of the Ghazníwí dynasty, and after Sultán Sanjar, the Saljúk, had been overthrown and made captive by the Ghuzz Turk-máns, they became all powerful in Khurásán, and possessed themselves of Ghaznín and its dependencies, and overran Kábul and Zábul. Khusrau Sháh, the last of the family of Sabuk-Tigín whose capital was Ghaznín, had to abandon his western dominions and retire to Láhor in 555 H. (1160, A.D.).

The Ghuzz remained in possession of those parts for twelve years, but were overthrown by Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, the Shansabí Ghúrí, in concert with his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, the future conqueror of Hindústán, and establisher of the Muhammadan power in that country, but at this time the latter, the younger brother, still bore his first title of Shiháb-ud-Dín, and he was made Sultán of Ghaznín and its dependencies, subject to his brother.

From this time Kábul became a dependency of Ghaznín, and continued to be so down to the time of Tímúr's invasion, or for a few years subsequent, and the history of Kábul, therefore, from the overthrow of the Ghuzz belongs to Ghaznín history, which I may give a summary of in another place.

Ibn Zábit, the author of the "Asár-ul-Bilád" (Annals of Countries), says:—"Kábul "is a famous city of Hind. The people are Musalmáns, but some are also infidels." He also mentions what I have quoted from the "Masálik wa Mamálik," but with some difference, that "the people of Hind consider that no kingdom or sovereign can be "established but at Kábul, and, if a sovereign should happen to succeed to the masnad "of sovereignty, he would not be considered worthy of the allegiance and obedience "of his subjects unless he should come to Kábul to be installed there." He adds that tropical fruits are produced in Kábul, with the exception of dates.

The "Haft Iklím," a work of great value, and whose contents are taken from many old works unknown at this day, says:—"Kábul is one of the world's ancient cities.

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states that "at Kábul Sabaktaghin firmly established himself, and a few years later, about 975, A.D., *founded the city of Ghazni*, which he made his capital." What is the authority for this statement?

* *See* "Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 73.

† The author of this work states that Ghaznín is a small city one *marhalah*, a day's journey, from Sistán. He returned from his travels in 368 H. (978–79, A.D.), just one year after the Amír, Násir-ud-Din, Sabuk-Tigín, became feudatory of Ghaznín and its dependencies.

" All about the territory are mountains, and in one day you are able from thence to " reach spots where snow never falls, and in two hours to reach places which are " never free from it." The author describes the province, as it was constituted when he wrote, as bounded east by the Lamghánát and Pas'háur and part of Hind, west by the Kohistán or mountain tracts in which the Nikúdarí and other tribes of Mughal and Turk descent dwell (Ghúr), north by Kunduz, Andar-áb, and the mountain range of Hindú-Koh, and south by Farmúl, Baghzan, and Afghánistán.*

To return to the account given by the author of the Sair-ul-Bilád.

" Kábul consisted of two cities or towns founded by Kábul Sháh, Bádsháh, one of which is called Kábul-i-Khúrd, or Little Kábul, and the other simply Kábul. The former is now a small village, and is situated on a ridge of the mountains about eight kuroh south, inclining east, from Kábul. The latter was one of the most excellent cities of olden times, and the ancient capital of the Tájzík race. It is in length one kuroh, and in breadth half a kuroh. The houses are chiefly built of unburnt brick, but some few are of burnt brick and stone."

The "Nasab Náma'h-i-Afaghinah" states that, "since the Durránís made Kábul " their capital, which happened when Tímúr Sháh succeeded his father, and have taken " up their residence there, the Durrání chiefs and their dependants, and the Kazil- " báshís likewise, have taken up their quarters there and built themselves dwellings. " Previously, Kábul was the residence of the Persian speaking Tájzíks."

It is still their residence, for they constitute the bulk of the inhabitants termed in our days Kábulís.

" The finest and most costly commodities of the four quarters of the world are disposed of in this city, and one fortieth is levied from the merchants and traders. This alone brings in a revenue of six or seven lakhs of rupees to the Sháh. As much snow falls from the beginning of Libra to the end of Aries, a great bázár has been erected in the city, which is roofed over. Its erection they attribute to Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh; and as it was finished by 'Alí Mardán Khán, while he held the government of the súbah or province, it is famous as the bázár of 'Alí Mardán Khán.† On account of the severity of the winter season, all those who can afford it go to Jalál-ábád, Pes'háwar, and Kandahár in that season, and return in the beginning of spring.

" The immense quantities of fruit produced round this city cannot be recorded.

" Adjoining the Láhorí gateway, on the east side of the city, there is a large fort, which was built by Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh. Its walls are of stone and lime, and within it is a commodious haram-saráe, a large masjid, and an extensive bázár, through which a canal, containing sufficient water to turn two or three water-mills, runs from east to west, and is made available for that purpose.

" The fort contains three gateways. The east gate, on account of its proximity to the haram-saráe, is closed up. The sardár of the troops and the guards come by the west gate, which opens into the city. The south gate is also closed up. This fort is called the Bálá Hisár‡—upper fortress or citadel—and is the residency of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí. He has laid out a large garden within the walls, with a lofty pavilion and gateway, and its length is half a kuroh, and its width about the same.§

" To the south of the city is a high mountain range, and on a ridge of it, called Sháh Kábul,‖ is a strong fortress built in ancient times, and because Jalál-ud-Dín Muhammad, Akbar Bádsháh, restored it with stone and lime, some people erroneously attribute its foundation to him. This is also styled the Bálá Hisár; and at the present time princes and other state prisoners are confined there. The distance from the Bálá Hisár, previously mentioned, to this fortress is more than half a kuroh, south.

" On the north and north-west sides of the city there is also a small range of hills, at the farthest and northern point of which, about a kuroh distant, is the village of

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* He is quite right here; he refers to the old seats of the Afghán tribes, referred to in note §, page 70.

† See Sir J. Kaye's " War in Afghanistan " (3 vol. ed.), Book IX., Chap. iii., pages 359 to 370.

‡ Named the Bálá-Hisár-i-Pá'ín, or lower citadel, to distinguish it from another fortress mentioned below. Jahán-gír Bádsháh says, in his " Autobiography," that when at Kábul he went to inspect the Bálá-Hisár, and found it no place fit for him; that he ordered it to be pulled down (the private apartments?), and a more suitable one to be erected.

§ All this had disappeared long before the first Afghán campaign.

‖ This ridge or eminence is also so called by the Shaykh, Abú-l-Fazl, in the A'ín-i-Akbarí. The place has been in ruins for many years.

Bíbí Máh-rú-e.* To the east of this range, and north of the city, is a large open plain, which is six or seven kuroh long, and about the same in breadth. Here the Bádsháh's troops encamp."

When Akbar Bádsháh left Kábul on his return to India, in Muharram, 998 H. (November, 1589, A.D.), he encamped at the jal-gáh of Siyah Sang, where three remarkable incidents happened. Kásim Khán, who had so much improved the road through the Khaibar and the route generally, was here nominated Governor of the province of Kábul, and the news of the decease of the Rájah, Todar Mall, the eminent revenue officer of Akbar, was received. Here, too, the Khán-i-Khánán or Khán of Kháns, 'Abd-ur-Rahím Khán, presented Akbar with the "Translation of the Tuzúk-i-Bábarí," written by his grandfather, Bábar Bádsháh, which he had rendered into Persian from the original Turkish.

At Siyah Sang likewise Akbar enjoyed the diversion of skating, at a place convenient for the purpose. Others joined it, for the Bádsháh gave permission to all who liked to join in it, and enjoy what he pronounced "exceedingly good sport, as such an "opportunity might not occur again."

"In ancient times there was no wall round the city, but, at the time that Ahmad Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, set out on the campaign to attack the Mashad, the Sardár Jahán Khán, Khán-i-Khánán, who was appointed to the charge of Kábul and its district, built a curtain wall of stone, which was carried from the range of hills to the south, right across the plain to the summit of the hills on the north. It contains three gateways; the eastern gate is called the Láhorí gate, the northern, the gate of the Jaláír Sardár, and the southern, the Gázar-gáh gate.†

"The territory dependent on the Dár-ul-Mulk of Kábul is a dara'h of great size, extending from Kábul city, in the direction of north and north-east, as far as the mountains of Hindú Koh, in which is the Kotal or pass of Hindú-Kush, for nearly fifty kuroh, and towards the south, in the direction of Kandahár, nearly two hundred kuroh. This space is peopled entirely by the Tájzík race.‡

"In the parts around Kábul on the north and north-west, in the mountainous district, which is exceedingly difficult, dwell the people descended from the Mughal regiments or mings."

Ming is a Turkish word, signifying a thousand; and these corps or regiments were so styled from the number of men they usually contained. Some of these

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* About three miles north-west of the Bálá-Hisár-i-Pá'ín is the village of Bíbí Máh-rú-e, or the Moonfaced Lady, turned into "Beymaroo" by Eyre, and "Bímaru," by Masson. Jahán-gír Bádsháh says he went to see the *khíá-bán* (signifying a road leading through gardens) when at Kábul, and took the ladies of his family to the jal-gáh of Safed Sang. This jal-gáh is the place which was selected for the cantonment at Kábul after the first Afghan war.

We also had a camp at the Siyah Sang jal-gáh, when the Afgháns rose against us on the 2nd of Novembe[r] 1841, about a mile and half to the west of the cantonment. The Siyah Sang heights or hills were still neare[r] being about a mile distant from the cantonment, and about a thousand yards north of the most norther[n] bastion of the Bálá Hisár-i-Pá'ín. This Siyah Sang is a remarkable place in Afghán history, especially i[n] the history of the Khas'hí or Khak'hí sept. After Mírzá Ulugh Beg had massacred seven hundred, less si[x] Yúsufzí notables, whom he had treacherously invited to an entertainment, he commanded that their bodi[es] should be taken outside the city of Kábul and buried. Agreeable to this command, the corpses were interr[ed] "at a place about two or three arrow flights distant from the city, in the direction of north-east, and near t[he] "village of Siyah Sang. That burying ground is called the Khatírah of the Sháhidán, or the Martyrs, to t[his] "day." There also may be seen the tomb of the Shaykh 'Usmán, son of Mútí, the Molízí, Yúsufzí, one [of] their holy men, who was included in the number above mentioned, and to whose resting place pilgrimages are ma[de].

Masson says, in one of his volumes respecting Kábul, that, leaving the Gate of Sháh-i-Sháhid, "we pass[ed] "the eminence and ziárat of Siyah Sang on our left, overlooking the Idgáh," etc.

In the neighbourhood of Kábul likewise a battle was fought between the Mughals of Mírzá Ulugh Beg [and] the Gagyání Afgháns on the one side, and the Yúsufzís on the other. It was fought in a verdant p[lain] teeming with grass called kabl (*Agrostis linearis*, but this name is antiquated, the *dúb'* grass formerl[y] called is now generally styled *Cynodon dactylon*). It is called the battle of Ghwara'h Margha'h, or [the] Besmeared or Polluted Plain, because it was rendered slippery from the blood of the slain on that occa[sion]. Ghwara'h, in Pus'hto, is an adjective agreeing with the feminine noun margha'h, the Afghán name for kabl grass, and signifies greasy, slippery, etc.

The Yúsufzís gained the victory. This Ghwara'h Margha'h is quite different from another place of [the same] name in the vicinity of the Koh-i-Surkh and Ab Istádah, one of the old seats of the Ghwarí and Khak['hí or] Khas'hí septs.

† The Jaláirs are a well known Mughal tribe. This gate is miscalled "Derwâza Jabár" by Masson.

‡ There are very few Afgháns in the Logar district even now; and it is only in recent times that Af[gháns] have pushed on to the westward of Ghaznín, for, as shown in note † at page 85, there were peo[ple of] Túrí (*i.e.*, Túránián) descent, the so-called Hazárahs, still settled to the east of Ghaznín in Humáyún[-Bád]sháh's reign.

It is not much over a century ago since the same people held Wardag. The Afgháns have sinc[e been] spreading westward, and they still continue to do so.

mings were permanently located in Ghúr by one of the Mughal Ká'áns, and the Tájzík people translated the word 'ming' into their own language, and called a ming hazárah. In the course of time the descendants of these hazárahs became styled by that general term. They will be referred to again in the Fourth Section of these Notes.

"On the east and south-east again, the Afgháns dwell, some few of whom are settled in permanent dwellings, but the majority are íláts or nomads.

"Every dara'h and every tract is known by a separate name. For example: to the north of Kábul are Paghmán, Shakar Dara'h, Káh Dara'h, Istálif, Chára'h-kár (also called Cháría'h-kár), Panj-shír or Panj-hír, Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo, Ghúr-band, etc., which are several dara'hs famous for their fertility and for yielding a large revenue, and for the abundance of their fruits, which are proverbial throughout this country. The districts of Istálif, Shakar Dara'h, Káh Dara'h, and others, constitute what is called the Tomán of Dáman-i-Koh (the skirt of the mountains). In the same manner, to the south, are Gamrán or Jamrán—*g* being used by some Afghan tribes for *j*,—Logar, Gardaiz, and other smaller dara'hs, famous for their fertility and great revenue.

"Respecting the rivers of the Kábul country or territory, the river of the Ghúr-Band or the Ghúr Dara'h passes the city of Kábul at a distance of about six or seven kuroh on the north-east, which, in the maháll or district called by the name of Tang-ghár, below But-Khák, joins the river of Kábul.

"The Logar river, having received the Khúshí, flows one kuroh to the south and east, passes north of But-Khák, and, in the afore-mentioned maháll of Tang-ghár, joins the river of the Ghúr-Band. From this river (the Logar) opposite Zarghún S'hahr (in Pus'hto signifies the green or verdant town or city), a great canal has been cut, and the water conveyed into the gardens and dwellings of Kábul.*

"To the west of the city there is a collection of water or small lake which is styled the Gázar-gáh, and over it they have erected a wooden bridge (*see* next page). The water of this stream runs through the city, and over it, within the city walls, they have built a stone bridge, called by the name of Pul-i-Mastán—the Bridge of the Enthusiasts—and under it is the Gázar-gáh or place frequented by washermen, or, literally, the bleaching ground.† From this stream likewise a cut has been made, sufficient to turn about two water-mills, and the water has been conveyed into the gardens lying to the northwards of the said bridge. On the south-west, without the walls of the shahr-panáh or city walls, is the makbara'h or mausoleum of Bábar Bádsháh, consisting of a fine masjid, and an extensive garden. Fruits of many descriptions are produced therein, and are dedicated to the use of travellers. The sepulchre of the Bádsháh is contained within a small covered building, a chabútarah or sarcophagus of white marble, and that again is surrounded with a small enclosure. Several members of his family also lie buried there, including his son, Mírzá Hindál, who was killed in Nangrahár.

"A cut has been made from the Logar river, sufficient in volume of water to turn four water-mills, and brought into this garden, but, at present, Tímúr Sháh, Durrání, has drawn off three fourths of the water, and carried it into his Haram-Saráe, and into the Asiyá-e Khána'h Bágh, or water-mill garden, previously referred to as having been laid out by that sovereign, and there it is used for irrigation purposes.

"To the south, adjoining the mausoleum of Bábar Bádsháh, is a high mountain.

"It is stated that previous to the reign of Jahán-gír Bádsháh this tomb was built of stone and mud mortar only, but, when Jahán-gír came to Kábul, in 1016 H. (1607–1608, A.D), he gave orders for erecting this present makbara'h, and also a masjid of marble; and in a short space of time they were completed. A marble tablet was set

* Our maps are much out here, and require considerable revision. This canal has been mistaken for the Kábul.

It was near the upper sources of the Logar river that the Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, Khwárazm Sháh, overthrew the Mughals in two engagements near Barwán. It is distinctly said to have been situated on the Áb-i-Baráni or Baráni river, between Ghaznín and Bámíán, but nearer to the former place, not the Parwán defile in the Hindú Koh range, as some have imagined because Parwán and Barwán are something alike—one being written with *b*, and the other with *p*—and the defile in question being in a totally different direction. The writers of that period called the upper portion of the Logar river Áb-i-Baráni. When these battles took place the Chingiz Khán was occupied in the investment of the strong fortress of Nasír Koh of Tál-kán of Khurásán, and his main camp was at the Pushta'h-i-Nu'mán. European writers, with a single exception, I believe, unaware that there was a place called Tál-kán in Khurásán, and another named Táe-kán in Kunduz, which they have vitiated into "Talikhan," straightway transfer the investment to their Talikhan, which is only about five and a half degrees too far east, and then Barwán near Ghaznín is turned into the Parwán pass in the Hindú Koh to suit their blunder. Tál-kán of Khurásán and Táe-kán of Kunduz were well known places in the tenth century of our era. *See* my Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násiri, page 288, and note 3, note to page 988, and page 1008.

† Gázar-gáh also means a burying place, or rather catacombs where dead men's bones are bleached.

up there, engraved in the nasta'lík character of Persian, containing the following inscription :—

"'By grace of the boundless favour of Almighty God, when Abú-l-Muzaffar, Núr-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Jahán-gír Bádsháh, son of the Hazrat-i-'Arsh Ashiyání (*i.e.*, His Majesty, whose nest is in the empyrean heaven), Jalál-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Akbar Bádsháh-i-Ghází, attained the fulfilment of his desire of visiting the illumined tomb of the Hazrat-i-Firdaus Makání (*i.e.*, His Majesty, whose place is in paradise)* Zahír-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Bábar Bádsháh-i-Ghází, he directed this tablet to be placed here in the second year of his reign, equivalent to 1016 H. (1607–8, A.D.).'"

"The date is contained in the words " فردوس دايم جاي بابر بادشاه " 'Paradise (is) the eternal place of Bábar Bádsháh.'

"The various delightful spots and heart-ravishing places which are to be found in this district, and in the neighbourhood of the city, are too numerous to be detailed here.

"The total revenue of the district is about twelve lakhs of rupees yearly, and every race of people here dwelling has to furnish a contingent of troops to the royal army.

"The language chiefly spoken at Kábul, and in the immediate districts, is Persian, which differs from that of modern Persia. It is the language of the ancient Tájzík inhabitants, but Push'to is the language spoken by Afgháns, some of whom know Persian colloquially, the upper classes well; and, in the same manner, many Tájzíks speak Pus'hto,† but Persian is always spoken among themselves."

I need not enter into more details respecting Kábul here, and now proceed to give an account of the important routes leading from thence into the Panjáb.‡

AN ACCOUNT OF THE VARIOUS ROADS AND HIGHWAYS OF THE PROVINCE WHICH BRANCH OFF FROM KÁBUL, CONSISTING OF TEN ROUTES.

First Route. From Kábul to Baghzan, which is the chief place in Irí-áb, a distance of thirty-five kuroh south, inclining south-west. This road leads also to Kurma'h and Bannú.§

"Leaving the Bálá Hisár of Kábul, and proceeding one kuroh south-west, passing by the way an exceedingly populous and well cultivated tract, with a high range of hills on the left hand,‖ and the bázár of 'Alí Mardán Khán and the houses of the city on the right, you reach the Gázar-gáh gateway, on the southern side of the city walls. The last quarter of this distance you pass along the side of the small stream which they have brought through the city and out again on the right-hand side, adjoining the said gateway, under the parapet of the city walls. On both sides are lofty hills, and the mazár or shrine, so called, of the 'Ashikán wa 'Arifán (lovers and pious persons¶) lies near by on the right hand.

"From thence (the Gázar-gáh gateway), a quarter kuroh south-west, is the Gázar-gáh,** a small pond or lake in the bed of the river, over which they have erected a wooden bridge; there are several dwellings of grain sellers, grocers, and fruit sellers there.

"At this bridge two roads diverge. The right-hand one leads over the bridge, and runs to Ghaznín by Urghandí, and the left-hand route is as follows. Proceeding a short distance south and south-east from the Gázar-gáh you reach the makbara'h

* By these titles they are known. For example: Abú-Fazl would not write that such and such an event took place in the time of Bábar Bádsháh, but in the time of the Hazrat-i-Firdaus Makání. A similar title is applied to Jahán-gír, and his immediate successors, but they need not be mentioned here.

† But "Pasto," "Pukkhto," "Pukshto," "Pashtú," "Pakhto," and "Pakhhto" are unknown to them.

‡ I shall enter into greater detail on these matters in my history of the Afgháns and their country.

§ Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, who proceeded to Kábul in 1049 H. (1639–40, A.D.) by the Khaibar route, returned from thence by that of Logar and Bangas'h, the one described under, and reached Kohát on the 25th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal of that year.

‖ On a bluff of which the upper citadel, now in ruins, stands.

¶ Such is the literal meaning, but it appears to have been so called after some holy Súfís apparently—lovers in a divine love.

** Not to be mistaken for Guzr-gáh; Gázar-gáh has a very different signification.

Many alterations have taken place, it must be remembered, since this account was written, especially within the last few years, and many buildings have been removed, and others ruined, since the Bárakzís overthrew their sovereign's dynasty, and divided the Durrání kingdom among themselves.

or tomb of Bábar Bádsháh, near by on the left hand, while the Gázar-gáh lake and stream lie close by on the right. From the tomb, one kuroh south, is a cluster of villages styled Hindka'í,* which lie close by on the right hand. These villages are also called Chhár Dih, or the four villages, the lands of which are extensive, and yield a considerable revenue. The Áb-i-Madághan (Madághan water), the name of a large canal, which joins the Gázar-gáh, also lies near by on the right hand. Opposite Hindka'í a cut has been made from the canal before mentioned, enough to turn four water-mills, and carried to the left hand, towards the makbara'h of Bábar Bádsháh previously mentioned.

" From Hindka'í, or the Chhár Dih, three kuroh south, is Chhár Asiyá (the four mills), consisting of several Tájzík villages, and the canal above mentioned lies close by on the right hand. About one mill of water has been drawn off from the canal, and conducted into the fields and gardens of this district.

" On the left hand, likewise, are several villages, not one only, belonging to the Tájzíks, styled Masa'í, also written Masua'í. The Logar river passes from here one kuroh and a half on the left-hand side, behind the screen of mountains.† From thence (Chhár Asiyá), three kuroh south, is a little hill or rising ground on which are several graves of Musalmán people. This little hill lies on the left-hand side of the road, and the Madághan Nahr or canal lies close by on the right-hand side.

" On the right hand, likewise, on the opposite side of the Madághan Nahr, there are several Tájzík villages, known by the name of Nún-yáz, and from thence, one kuroh south, is Gumrán, the name of two large villages, lying on either side of the Logar river, on the left-hand side of the road at some distance off, while the Madághan Nahr lies close by on the right-hand side.

" From this place there is a road, on the left hand, by which the Kabr-i-Mullá,‡ or Mullá's tomb, east of the Ghás'hí of Mi-yandzey Lár, referred to farther on, may be reached.

" From thence (Gumrán), one kuroh south, is the Logar river, which you can cross knee deep in the cold season, but in the commencement of spring, when the snows begin to melt, it becomes flooded and overflows (its banks). This river comes from the right hand, and flows towards the west, passing by in its course the villages and lands of Dih-i-Ya'kúb, which lies one kuroh east of Kábul, Bagrámí, and But-Khák. The Madághan Nahr shows itself at some distance on the right hand.

" Two kuroh south from the Logar river are several Tájzík villages called Khúrdgán, which lie one kuroh on the right-hand side of the road. In this wádí, or broad valley, some of the Ghalzí tribe dwell as íláts or nomads, and they also cultivate a little land. From Khúrdgán, another three kuroh south, is Madághan,§ a large village belonging to the Tájzíks, on the other (farther) side of the Logar river, which appears at the distance of about one kuroh on the right-hand side. A large nahr or canal has been cut from the Logar river to the village, and carried from the east side of that place to the houses and gardens of Kábul and the environs of that city, and which canal, as previously stated, is called the Nahr-i-Madághan.

" About three kuroh south of Madághan is Zarghún S'hahr,‖ a cluster of several large Tájzík villages. The Logar river passes at the distance of a kuroh and a half to the north-west of these, at the foot of the mountains. From this point they have cut a canal and brought the water into their fields and gardens. The village of Kalangar, which is the chief place in this district, shows itself on the farther (west) side of the Logar river, about three kuroh distant.

" From the Zarghún S'hahr two roads branch off. That on the right hand goes to Ghaznín and Kandahár. The left-hand route, by which the writer proceeded, is as follows. Two kuroh south of the Zarghún S'hahr the wádí or large open valley begins to contract, and a small river enters it from a dara'h on the left-hand side, and which, running to the right, near Kalangar, joins the Logar river. This small river is called the Rúd-i-Do-bandí, or Do-Bandí river. On both banks of it there are numerous gardens and extensive cultivation.

" The dara'h through which it runs is called Khúshí, and, in truth, it is a delightful (pleasant, etc.) place, and a charming situation, lying in the direction of south-east

* Turned into "Indike" in the map.

† It will be observed that there is no mention of any Kábul river running through the city, and with good reason.

‡ See page 74. The Mi-yandzey Lár may be turned by that road.

§ Incorrectly spelt "Mazzagán" in the map.

‖ Zarghún signifies "green," "verdant," etc., in the Pus'hto language.

and north-west, and is four or five kuroh in length.* From Khúrdgán to the extreme end of this dara'h they term the Logar country, and its chief places are Kalangar, before mentioned, Hisárak, and Barakkai.

"You now cross the Do-bandí river, and reach Sa'ad-ullah Khán, one of the large villages of the dara'h situated on this river. It is inhabited by Sayyids.

"From Nún-yáz to Kalangar a great detached mountain range shows itself on the right-hand side (the west), and Khúrdgán, Madághan, and other villages are situated at the base of it.

"From the excessive cold prevalent on this range of mountains there is no grass, verdure, nor vegetation, and, indeed, on the mountains of this district generally trees and grass are scarce.

"In this dara'h of Khúshí there are several *smats*, or caves, and in the winter season the cattle and flocks of the inhabitants of the dara'h are kept in them.

"From this village of Sa'ad-ullah Khán to that of Kalangar, by way of the river, is seven kuroh, which is well known. By proceeding three kuroh south of the village of Sa'ad-ullah Khán, among the mountains, first by way of the before-mentioned river, and afterwards leaving it on the right hand, you ascend on the left hand a high mountain range where two roads branch off, that is to say, a road on the right-hand side comes from the village of Taghraṇ,† which is one of the large villages of the Tomán of Logar, and joins this road (that is, the main route from Kábul to Baghzaṇ, now under explanation), and between this dara'h (of Khúshí) and the last-named village is a very high (and deep) gorge or defile, called the Kotal-i-Uchagán. From this point, where the two roads diverge, to Taghraṇ is a distance of seven kuroh, and from the village of Sa'ad-Ullah Khán to Taghraṇ is also a distance of seven kuroh, which is well known.

"From this same point, proceeding half a kuroh east up the mountains to the summit, and again descending a similar distance in the same direction, you come again on the same river, the Do-bandí, and the right-hand part, from which direction the river passes, they call the Káfir or Infidel's dara'h, which lies in a mountain range of great altitude, and the roadway is very difficult.

"From the before-mentioned river, having proceeded onwards a quarter kuroh to the east, you reach Do-bandí, a fortress of great strength (in former times), situated on a ridge of the mountains, on the right-hand side of the road. Its foundation is attributed to one of the Gurgáníah Sultáns,‡ but it is now totally desolate and depopulated. This dara'h they call the Dara'h of Do-bandí, and the Kotal which has been just passed they call the Ghás'hí or Ghák'hí of Do-bandí (ghás'h or ghák'h is the Pus'hto for tooth, and ghás'haey or ghák'haey the crest of a mountain or pass, which, inflected, becomes Ghás'hí or Ghák'hí). It is three or four kuroh in length, and in this dara'h the Ghalzí Afgháns dwell after the manner of íláts or nomads.

"From Kábul to Do-bandí there are no tall trees; indeed, through the excessive cold, and the falls of snow in these parts, grass grows but scantily.

"At the Do-bandí Kotal, likewise, the Tájzík territory terminates in this direction, the Persian language ceases to be spoken, and the Pus'hto or Afghán language begins, but the Pus'hto of the íláts or nomads of this district is much affected by Persian speaking neighbours.§

"Opposite the old fortress of Do-bandí two roads branch off. That going to the right is called the Katah Sang road, and that going to the left, the Mi-yandzey Lár. From each of these directions a small river comes, which, east of the fortress of Do-bandí, unite, and then, under the name of the Rúd-i-Dobandí, flows through the dara'h of Khúshí, and finally unites with the Logar river.

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* It is a very easy march from this place to Kábul city.
Khúshí, Zarghún S'hahr, and Do-bandí, all three places, appear in the new map contained in the "Pro[ceedings] of the Royal Geographical Society" for January 1879, under the incorrect names of "Kachi... "Zurgun Shah," and "Doband."

† The peculiar manner in which the names of these two places, تغرا and بغزا, and some others, are written, ... with what is grammatically known, in 'Arabic, as tanwín or nunnation, by doubling the vowel with which t... word terminates, and subjoining the letter ا, the vowel in such cases taking after it the sound of ن,—is me... probably to express some Turkish sound or pronunciation. In case of the other vowels, ٍ or ٌ, being us... the sounds become *iṇ* and *uṇ* respectively.

‡ The sovereigns of the house of Tímúr, the Gurgán, or Son-in-law, antecedent to the year 913 H. (1507 A.D.), when their territory was conquered by Shaibání Khán.

§ This, then, is the natural boundary in this direction of the country of the Afgháns, or tún of the Pus... or Puk'ht, or Pás'ht, or Pák'ht, whence the Afgháns derive their name of Pus'htún and Puk'htún. See "Afghán Dictionary," new edition, page 1113.

"Having proceeded for a distance of two kuroh east, inclining to north-east, from the old fortress, and following the course of the stream through a deep and narrow gorge, with the mountains overhanging the way, and ascending at every footstep, the gorge contracting as you proceed, you ascend in the direction of east by a zig-zag road to the crest of the pass. This defile and pass they call the Ghás'hí-i-Mi-yandz Lár* (meant, possibly, for "the middle road" into Hind), which is a defile exceedingly lofty, and from the summit of it the territories of Logar and Gardaiz, to the west and south-west, can be distinctly seen, spread out beneath like the courtyard of a dwelling.

"On this mountain range a species of tree (or shrub?) named nacha'í (tacha'í?) is found. Its leaves are large, of a red colour, and sour to the taste; and it spreads on rising out of the ground.

"From the summit of this Ghás'hí you descend in the direction of north-east for two kuroh and a half, and then reach Manzil-i-Ghalzí, the name of a dara'h and halting place of the ílát or nomad Ghalzís. It extends from east to west four kuroh in length, and from north to south it is about two kuroh in breadth. From the west side of this dara'h a river issues, which, passing through the hill tract to the east, runs on into Nangrahár, and obtains the name of Surkh-Rúd, or red river, which joins the river of Kábul at Darúnthah, a short distance west of Jalál-ábád.

"The people of this part call the mountain range to the south and east, which adjoins the dara'h of Irí-áb, by the name of Sirkai;† and that to the west and north, which lies towards or on the side of Kábul and Gardaiz, by the name of Shúbul.

"One kuroh and a half north, inclining north-east, and proceeding upwards, you reach Kabr-i-Mullá (the Mulla's grave), the tomb of some holy man; and here are two roads. That on the left hand side comes from the direction of Gumrán, but it is a difficult route. The other road is as follows. Proceeding one kuroh north-east, inclining east, from Kabr-i-Mullá, and then another half a kuroh to the south, you reach Kabr-i-Fakír (the Devotee's tomb), also the grave of some holy man. From this point likewise two roads branch off; the right-hand road, which is named Katah Sang,‡ comes from the fort of Do-bandí, as previously mentioned, and here again joins the road by which we have been proceeding. Upon the whole it is smoother and more level than the main route, and it is on this account that artillery and such like heavy materials are taken to and fro by this road.§

"They call the route from Kabr-i-Mullá to this place Rágha'h (in Pus'hto signifying the skirt of a mountain bordering on an uncultivated tract). A small stream of water comes from this side of Katah Sang and another from the Rágha'h, which, having united west of Kabr-i-Mullá, runs on to Irí-áb. A forest of chalghozah trees (*Pinus Gerardiana*), and the Irí-áb territory, commence at Kabr-i-Mullá.

"One kuroh and a half to the south of Kabr-i-Fakír there is a considerable river, sufficient to turn ten or twelve water-mills, which issues from a tangaey (a gorge of the mountains) lying on the left hand (north), and running to the south goes into Irí-áb. A stream at Kabr-i-Fakír likewise, at this place, joins this larger river, which then obtains the name of Rúd-i-Sirka'h, or Sirka'h river.

"From thence having gone half a kuroh to the south, along the before-mentioned river, you reach Shúmú Khel, a small village on the left-hand side, on a ridge of the mountains belonging to and named after a section of the Dzádzí tribe.

"Two kuroh and a half farther south from thence is another Shúmú Khel, belonging to the same tribe, on the right-hand side, and close to the before-mentioned Sirka'h

* Lár, in Pus'hto, means "a road," "path," "way," "track," etc., and Mi-yandz, which is also a noun, signifies "the middle" or "centre" of anything. Mi-yandz-Ghálaey signifies a "chasm," "a gap," or "gorge," but Mi-yandz and Mi-yandznaey is the adjective for "middle," "mid," and the like. "The middle road" would be—lár being feminine—"da Mi-yandzey Lári," or "da Mi-yandz-na'í Lári." The writer appears to have merely given the name as it would be expressed in Persian.

It will be noticed here that there is no mention of a Shutar-Gardana'h pass. The author was too careful, as the minuteness and correctness of his descriptions show, to pass over such a fact, if the pass was so called in his time. It is probably a modern name in this part of the country.

I fully believe that the route west of the Shutar Gardana'h kotal will be found far more formidable than has been and is expected.

† Sirka'h, probably, which, when inflected, would become Sirkey. The Sirka'h river is also mentioned farther on. "Sarkhe," as it has been recently called, is not correct.

‡ South of Katah Sang is a defile through which a road leads to Bannú through Khost and Dáwaṛ, by the roads subsequently mentioned.

§ When the Kurma'h force pursued the fugitives from the Amír, Sher 'Alí Khán's garrison, from the Paiwaṛ Kotal towards the so-called "Shuturgurdan" pass lately, it was a matter of wonder what had become of the brass nine-pounders. The half burnt carriages were found, but not the guns, which had vanished. Some supposed they had been buried, and some declared that they had been "put on camels." The route these guns were removed by was, without doubt, this very road.

river, on the west bank. A third village named Shúmú Khel, belonging to the same people, lies one kuroh and a half farther on. The Sirka'h river, having made a bend from the left half a kuroh towards the south, joins the river of 'Alí Khel, the name of a large straggling village belonging to the 'Alí Khel section of the Dzádzís.*

"From this village of Shúmú Khel two kuroh towards the east is Spín Ghar, a lofty range of mountains, which are always covered with snow. The snow thereon, melting from the heat of the sun (in the summer season) in many places, falls down in several streams towards the south; and on the lateral ridges thereof, running in a southerly direction, the 'Alí Khel Dzádzís, and the Túrís, another tribe, have built their dwellings. In this part the cold is so intense in winter that it cannot be explained; it is beyond explanation.

"At Shúmú Khel (the last mentioned) also, two roads branch off. That on the left hand goes to Kurma'h, and the right-hand one is this. Proceeding from the last-named Shúmú Khel one kuroh and a half to the south-west, inclining south, you reach Khirmaná Khel, the name of two villages belonging to the Dzádzís, and the 'Alí Khel river lies close by, on the left-hand side. Here, likewise, two roads branch off. The left-hand one passes over the river of 'Alí Khel, and goes on to Kurma'h, over a great mountain range, the particulars respecting which will be given in the route farther on. The other road, the left-hand one, now under explanation, continues one kuroh and a half to Baghzan, a large village, the seat of government of this locality. To the west of the village is a lofty mountain range; and the 'Alí Khel river passes under the village on the east side. The rustics of this district likewise speak the Persian language as well as the Pus'hto.

Second Route. From Kábul to Ghaznín by way of Logar,† a distance of fifty kuroh south-west, inclining south; and this route goes on to Kandahár and Hirát.

"The road from Kábul to Zarghún S'hahr, where the route leading to Baghzan separates, has been already described.‡

"Setting out from Zarghún S'hahr, and proceeding one kuroh and a half in the direction of south-west, inclining west, you reach the Logar river, and cross it, the water being knee deep (in the winter season). Continuing onwards for another kuroh and a half in the same direction you reach Kalangar, a large village on the Logar river. South of the village, the water of the Khúshí dara'h, that is to say, the Rúd-i-Do-bandí, falls into the Logar river.§ To the north of the village is a high mountain range.

"From Kalangar three kuroh south-west is Hisárak, but rustics who cannot pronounce properly may call it Isarák. It is a large village in the tomán of Logar; and the river of that name flows on the south side of the village. From this point they style the Logar by the name of Áb-i-Gardaiz (the water or river of Gardaiz),‖ and the road follows the bank of the river.

"From Hisárak (literally, the Fortlet or Little Fort) distant two kuroh is Dih-i-Do-shína'h, which is likewise a large place. From thence four kuroh, along the course of the river, is the great village of Barakkai, belonging to the Tájzík people, like the villages previously mentioned.

"Seven kuroh from Barakkai in the same direction is Sugáwand, also written Sujáwand by 'Arabs, who change *g* into *j*, now a small village, lying under the mountains. South of it, on the top of a mountain, is a great fortress founded, according to tradition, by Jamshed Bádsháh, and named Kala'-i-Sugáwand or Sujáwand and Kala'-i-Jamshed. It is wholly desolate and deserted."

Sugáwand or Sujáwand is an important and well-known place in Muhammadan history and geography, and is mentioned several times by Abú-l-Fazl-i-Baihakí, and other historians.

Among the events of the reign of 'Umro, the son of Lais, the Suffárí or Brazier, who reigned from 265 to 287 H (878 to 900 A.D.), it is stated that he conferred the government of Zábulistán, which Ya'kúb, his brother, had annexed, on one of his

* This is the place to which our new "scientific frontier" is to extend on the west.
† This word was originally Lohgar, but Afgháns have no aspirates in their language, and reject them in words foreign to their own.
‡ That is, the Kurma'h route. See page 69.
§ In the most recent maps the junction is placed a great deal too far south. It is made to join the Logar even south of Hisárak.
‖ Perhaps more correctly, the Gardaiz river here meets the Logar.

chiefs named Fard-ghán, and sent him thither with a body of 4,000 cavalry. There was a great Hindú idol temple in that part, which was called the temple of Sugáwand, and pilgrims from all parts of Hind used to flock there to worship the idols. Fard-ghán, as soon as he arrived in that part, seized this idol temple, broke the idols, sacked the place, and drove out the infidels. The booty, less the share of 'Umro, their sovereign, was distributed among the troops. On this "Ráe Kamlú, a Ráe of Hind" (probably Ráe Kamlú, who is said to have been one of the Buddhist rulers of Kábul and its dependencies), "assembled a great host to avenge the insults offered to his "gods and the sack of their temple, but, on his becoming informed, through some of "the fugitive Hindús, that the Musulmán invader had received large reinforcements, "and that his object was to entice the Hindú host among the defiles and passes, and "then slaughter them, Ráe Kamlú's energy waxed cold, and he finally retired without "coming into contact with the enemy."

Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, when commander of the forces of Amír Pírey, who succeeded, on the death of Amír Balká-Tigín, as ruler of the fief of Ghaznín and its dependencies under the Sámání sovereigns*—these three persons were the slaves of the Hájib or Chamberlain, Alb-Tigín, the Turk—was sent by Amír Pírey against Abú-'Alí-i-Lawík, the successor to the rights and claims of Amír Abú-Bikr-i-Lawík, who had been driven from Ghaznín by Alb-Tigín when he first took possession of it in 322 H. (934, A.D.)† Lawík is the name, apparently, of the family, or possibly of a tribe. There was also a poet of the same family or tribe.

Abú-'Alí-i-Lawík had been solicited on the part of the people of Ghaznín to come and deliver them from the tyranny of Amír Pírey, who was a great villain; and, having obtained aid from the Kábul Sháh, who sent his son along with him, and at whose court Abú-'Alí appears to have taken refuge, they marched towards Ghaznín. Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, with his forces, pushed on from Ghaznín through the Sugáwand dara'h or pass before they had time to approach it, and encountered them near Charkh,‡ which is mentioned elsewhere, at page 64, and overthrew Abú-'Alí-i-Lawík, and put him and his confederate to flight. Great booty was captured, and, among other things, ten elephants.

When Sultán Mas'úd, the Martyr, son of Sultán Mahmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín, was returning to Ghaznín from Hind, after the capture of Hánsí, he returned to Ghaznín by the dara'h or pass of Sugáwand. It was the beginning of the month of Jamádí-ul-Awwal, 429 H. (the first week in March, 1038, A.D.), and a vast quantity of snow had fallen, in such wise that the depth of it was unknown. Previous to the Sultán's arrival a letter had been despatched to the seneschal of the fortress of Sugáwand, directing him to bring out his men, and have the road cleared, which was done. Baihakí says, "Had it not been done no one would have been able to pass through it, "for the road is like a narrow street all the way from the Rabát-i-Sultán to the city."

This route by the Sugáwand pass was that followed by the first Muhammadan conquerors of India, who established their rule and religion therein. Mahmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín made thirteen expeditions into Hind, and probably came through the Khaibar on one of them, when he marched against Jai-pál, in 391 H. (1001, A.D.), and encountered him in the Pes'háwar province, which was the reason for his adopting that route (if he did follow it and not that by Kohát), but he certainly did not use it on the other twelve. His son, Mas'úd, used the Sugáwand route, as we have heard above from the historian Baihakí; Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, the Ghúrí Sultán of Ghaznín, never once took the Khaibar route, but the Sugáwand, the route by Gardaiz to Karmán and Sankúrán, and that by Naghar on all occasions; and his mamlúks, and successors to the thrones of Ghaznín and Delhí respectively, Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, and Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, never followed the Khaibar route.

The Sugáwand pass was the direct route to Irí-áb, Karmán, and Sankúrán, subsequently, and to this day, known as Shanúzán or Shalúzán (*l* and *n* being interchangeable), the fiefs held by Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, during his master's lifetime. Soon after his succession to the Ghaznín throne, he had to leave Ghaznín and retire into those parts again, but soon after recovered it. Then hostility arose between

* The Gardaizí says that Amír Pírey held "all Zábulistán, that is to say, Ghaznín, Gardaiz, Barwán, and "Bust."

† Dr. Bellew is quite mistaken in supposing that "Sabaktaghin," as he styles him, founded the city of Ghaznín in 975, A.D. See Note §, page 63.

‡ The Haft Iklím, says Sujáwand and Charkh are dependencies of the tomán of Logar. Under the revenue system of Akbar Bádsháh, Gardaiz formed a separate tomán, and was rated at 20 lakhs, and 30,032 dáms. The Afgháns dwelling in it furnished a militia of 200 horse and 1,000 foot. Ghaznín formed another tomán, but both were under the jurisdiction of Kábul.

him and his son-in-law, Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, respecting the possession of the province of Láhor, which I-yal-dúz claimed as a province of the Ghaznín empire, which it certainly had been from the time of its first conquest. Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, and Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, encountered each other in the Panjáb, the latter was defeated, and pursued by the former, who marched to Ghaznín and possessed himself of that capital for a few days, and I-yal-dúz had to retire into Karmán and Irí-áb again. His rival gave himself up to riot, and the people of Ghaznín, by whom I-yal-dúz was much beloved, sent to him secretly to make known the state of affairs, and urge him to return. I-yal-dúz did so, and came, without doubt, by the Sugáwand pass, the most direct road; and Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, after forty days' possession, had to retire precipitately by the route of Sang-i-Surákh, of which more will be mentioned presently.

Before closing these remarks on Sugáwand and its fortress and pass, I must refer to the "Geographical Index" to Volume II., page 575, of Elliot's "India," edited by Mr. J. Dowson, who remarks that "the following list will probably be found useful, and may obviate the necessity of reference or inquiry." Then comes, at page 578, the following quotation from Major-General A. Cunningham :—

"Sakáwand.—In the territory of Kábul, which belonged to Kumlu. It is mentioned "by Istakhrí and Ibn Haukal as one of the dependencies of Bámián, along with Kábul, "Ghazní, and Parwán. Idrísí gives it as being seven days' journey from Kábul, and "the same distance from Khouïab, for which I would read Haríab, as I believe it to "be the Iryáb or Irjáb of Sharíf-ud-dín and the Haryúb of the present day,—which is "at the head of the Kuram valley, to the south-east of Kábul. Sakáwand would "therefore be at or near Jalálábád," etc., etc.

How erroneous this statement is, is sufficiently apparent.

To continue the account of the route.

"Proceeding four kuroh in the same direction as before (along the banks of the Áb-i-Gardaiz) you reach Haft Asiyá, or the Seven Mills, near which, on the right-hand side, the road from Kábul joins this route, and from thence another three kuroh is Shush Gáo, signifying, in the Persian language, a whitish red bullock or cow, also written Sh'níz Gáo.* It is the name of a dara'h of the mountains, and from it three kuroh is Dahan-i-Sher† (the Lion's Jaws or Mouth), a narrow, stony defile of great elevation. From thence another three kuroh, by a somewhat steep descent of about a kuroh, is the Rauzah-i-Sultán Mahmúd, son of Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, which lies close to the road on the left hand, consisting of a lofty building, at the side of which are a kárez, and extensive gardens. From thence one kuroh farther south-west is Ghaznín, a large city of the Tájzík race; and the villages along the road are also inhabited by that people."

An account of Ghaznín I must defer for the last Section of these notes.

Third Route. From Kábul to Segí, one of the chief villages of the Dara'h of Khost, a distance of ninety kuroh,‡ and consisting of two different roads.

Before commencing with the description of the routes, it will be well to give a brief description of Khost, and also of Bangas'h or Bangak'h, in which the Khost Dara'h is included.

The particulars respecting Bangas'h, strange to say, are very meagre in all the copies of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, the printed text edited by the late Mr. W. H. Biochmann, M.A., included. All the manuscript copies I have examined have the ruled forms for the details, but they are not filled in.

Under the head of "Sarkár-i-Kábul," Abú-l-Fazl says, that the tomán of Bangas'h has to furnish, or is assessed, rather, as being able to furnish 7,000 horsemen and 87,800 foot for militia purposes. He then enters into some details, but, from the names of the tribes given, there is evidently a misplacement of the text, for the details refer to the tomán of Bagrám or Pas'háur and Purs'háwur, as Pes'háwar was called in that day, and which was not included in Bangas'h.

Bangas'h or Bangak'h.

"This is the name given to a number of Afghán tribes, said to amount altogether to about 100,000 families, as well as to a tract of mountainous country in which they

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* There is also the Sh'níz Dara'h, in which the Wardags dwell, and the Sh'níz river, which rises a little to the west of the Sher Dahan pass. What Sh'níz may mean I cannot say. Shaníz, in the old Persian, means "ebony," but that would be altogether inapplicable here. Perhaps sh'níz and shush are synonymous.

† The name of this pass, in the map contained in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," for January, 1879, which is said to be based on Major Wilson's new map, has been turned into Sher-i-Dana."

‡ By the most direct of these two roads is meant.

dwell. This is again subdivided into Bálá or Upper Bangas'h, and Pá'ín or Lower Bangas'h. The former name is applied to the people who dwell high up in the mountains and in the depressions of the hills, and the latter name to the people who dwell lower down, and to the tract into which the rivers flow.

"Bangas'h, so called, extends for upwards of one hundred kuroh in length from east to west, and about sixty kuroh in breadth from north to south. It consists of lofty mountain tracts, and extensive and sometimes broad dara'hs. It is situated chiefly in a cold climate, but a little of it is hot. Each dara'h is known after the name of the tribe or section of the tribe inhabiting it, while the villages are called after the name of the clans or smaller sections of such tribes as inhabit them.

"It is not necessary here to name all the smaller dara'hs, offshoots from the larger ones, as the former will be found noticed elsewhere during our route through them; but the larger dara'hs, through which the writer passed in making these surveys, are Khost, Dawar, Maidán, Sibrí, Bakr Khel, and Kohát."

Khost.

"Khost is the name of a great cleft of an extensive mountain range, in length from east to west thirty kuroh, and will be about eight kuroh in width from north to south; and other smaller dara'hs, mentioned farther on, as they are reached, are connected with it. In the winter season much snow falls, and in the summer the cold even does not leave the air (the air is still chilly).

"From the mountain range on the west a small river issues, which, flowing between difficult mountains lying to the east of Khost, near Palimín, joins the Kurma'h river. The inhabitants of this dara'h belong to the Karlárni division of the Afghán nation, and are sometimes called by the general appellation of Khostí, that is, inhabitants of Khost, but there is no tribe called "Khostwals." They are held in great repute for their bravery.

"The chief and largest village or small town in this territory is called Segí, and is situated about the middle of the valley, on the south side of the Shamal river, and the district is very productive and enjoys an exceedingly cool and pleasant climate. Some of the land is lalmí (dependent on rain for irrigation), and some rúdí (irrigated from streams). The latter lands produce rice and much wheat, of which the Government share is one fourth. The lalmí lands produce barley, lentils, and cotton in large quantities, and on the produce of these lands the Government takes one tenth.

"The people are of four septs. Those who dwell to the west of the town of Segí are styled Kuwátá (*see* page 91 and next road); those on the east of it Parayá, also called Paráyá; those located in the mountains to the north of it are known by the name of Dirmán; and Akobí* is the name of a clan who dwell north of the Dirmán clan.

"These four divisions number altogether about 20,000 families, and pay 14,000 rupees yearly as a tithe or tenth to the Durrání Government, and furnish a contingent of 200 horsmen in time of war to the Bádsháh's army.

"In the mountain tracts to the south-west (called Chittí at page 89), which is about ten kuroh distant from Segí, some hundreds of the Tárarn tribe dwell.† They are a very valiant people. Hunting falcons are taken in their locality. The Tárarns have neither taxes nor revenue to pay.

First road.—From Kábul to Segí, by way of Gardaiz, which is over one hundred kuroh.‡

"The road from Kábul to Do-shína'h has been given in the preceding route. From thence two kuroh south is Taghran, a large village in the tomán of Logar, and you proceed along the banks of the river of that name. From thence, twelve kuroh south, inclining south-east, is Gardaiz, the name of a large dara'h belonging to the Tájzíks; and by the way are numerous ascents and descents. A great mountain range lies on both the right and left hand side, and on the route there is much water (many small streams, feeders of the main river), and much population and cultivation.

"From thence, another twelve kuroh south, inclining south-east, is Dera'í-i-Míah Khel (dera'í, in Pus'hto, signifies "a mound," "a hillock," "a heap," "pile," etc.)—the hillock

* Not "Yakoobi."

† The Tárarn tribe are descended from Tárarn, otherwise Sayyid Táhir, one of the adopted sons of Kákar. They are subdivided into several sections, but are not numerous. This tribe must not be mistaken for Tarín.

‡ Farther on the author says, this route is not only the longest, but also the most difficult.

of the Míah Khel, inhabited by Afgháns. On the road there is scarcity of water, and excess of hilly country. From thence, another ten kuroh to the east, inclining south-east, brings you to Namárá, the name of a number of villages belonging to the Jzadrárn Afgháns.* On the way is a defile of great elevation, and out of it a river flows, which runs towards the south in the direction of the dara'h of Khost, and obtains the name of Shamal. From thence, ten kuroh farther east, is Segí of Mullá Sa'íd, a large village or small town, the seat of Government of the tomán of Khost.

"On the way thither are some thirty or forty villages lying on either side of the Shamal river, and all these villages they style by the name of Kuwátá. To the west of the village of Segí is the tomb and shrine of Mullá Sa'íd. He was a person of wisdom and knowledge, and practised them. The Shamal river passes under the village on the south side, and mountain ranges show themselves at a distance on the right and left hand.†

Second road.—From Kábul to Segí by way of Irí-áb and Kurma'h, consisting of four different roads.

"I. The first of these four roads from Kábul to Segí, is by way of Chakkura'í, which is the nearest of the four.

"Setting out from Kábul and proceeding four kuroh (south) you reach Masa'í, the name of a cluster of Tájzík villages on the west bank of the Logar river. Crossing it below the villages, and proceeding twelve kuroh towards the south, you reach Chakkura'í, a large village belonging to the great Afghán tribe of Ghalzí, who dwell about here leading the life of íláts or nomads. On the way there are many ascents and descents, the country being very mountainous.

"From Chakkura'í twelve kuroh (in the same direction) is Babbur, another village belonging to the Ghalzís, and the road thither is of much the same nature as the preceding, with numerous ascents and descents. Here too the Ghalzís dwell as íláts or nomads.

"Another twelve kuroh south from thence is 'Alí Khel, previously mentioned (at page 72), at the foot of the Spín Ghar mountain range, which lies close by on the left-hand side. Three kuroh east is Balút, a large village in the territory of Kurma'h. The road is like the bed of a river, and the before-mentioned mountain range of Spín Ghar lies near by on the left hand, while on the right there is a great Kotal or pass (the Paiwar).‡

"Three kuroh east is Paiwar, which is also a large village; and by the way there is a vast cultivation, and the country is very populous. From 'Alí Khel to this place the Túrí Afgháns dwell. A river issues from the Spín Ghar range, which, passing Balút and Paiwar on the east side and flowing towards the east, joins the river of Shalúzán.

"From Paiwar five kuroh to the south-east is Istíá, a considerable village on the Kurma'h river. At this place two roads branch off. That on the left hand goes to Bázár-i-Ahmad Khán, the chief town in the Bannú district (a little south-east of the new station of Bannú). The right-hand route is as follows:—

"Having crossed the Kurma'h river from Istíá, and proceeding ten kuroh to the south-east, a large village is reached belonging to one of the Bangas'h tribes, and styled the Algad.§ On the way thither there is much ascent and descent, and the road lies over a very high defile. From the Algad two kuroh to the south is Maidán, a large village belonging to the Údzí Khel Dzádzís, who are accounted among the tribes of Bangas'h; and the dara'h in which it lies is also called the Maidán Dara'h.

"The Údzí Khel are a large section or clan, amounting to nearly 20,000 families.|| Some portion of them dwell in the Maidán Dara'h, and a few to the west of the Kurma'h district, while a considerable number of them live in the Irí-áb district as cultivators of the soil. Some of them speak the Persian language as well as the

* The Jzadrárn or Jzandrárn Afgháns belong to the Karlární division, and are one of the three sub-tribes of the Mangalí mentioned in note *, page 78. They spring from the same common ancestor as the Dilazáks, Wurakzís, and others.

† Near this village is the fort in which Major-General Roberts so lately left the Sadozí Sháh-zádah as our representative in Khost, which he had again to abandon.

‡ The writer must have come to what is now called the "Spin Gawe" Kotal. If a Pus'hto name is intended it must be Spín Ghwáwí, if the "White Cows'" Kotal is referred to. It was evidently not so called in the author's time. The name is written "Ispingwai" in the article on "The Mountain Passes of the Afghan Frontier of British India," in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," for January, 1879.

§ The word *algad* is said to mean a deep ravine, but here no ravine is mentioned, but a high defile is. What the derivation of *algad* is I am unaware.

|| This number must refer to the whole of the Dzádzí tribe, of which the Údzí Khel are but a section. See page 81.

Pus'hto. They have to pay tax to the Durrání Government, amounting to about 14,000 rupees yearly, and to furnish sometimes 300 and sometimes 400 cavalry, as a contingent to Tímúr Sháh's army, when called upon.

" The Dara'h of Maidán, sometimes also called Údzí Khel, from the name of one of the clans inhabiting it, is about twelve kuroh in length, and nearly the same in breadth. On the north side it adjoins a hilly tract of country, on the west the mountains in the district occupied by the Sibrí clan, and south the low hills and mountain clefts (defiles and ravines) in the country of the Bakr Khel, which is full of ascents and descents. On the east of the Maidán Dara'h is the range of Mihtar Sulímán, or Koh-i-Siyah, and on its highest slopes some of the Údzí-Khel dwell. The dara'h is very cold. In winter much snow falls, and even in the summer one cannot pass the nights without a blanket and a fire.

" The stream issuing from this dara'h runs from west to east, and near the village of Palimín* unites with the Kurma'h river.

" From Maidán village five kuroh south is Bakr Khel, which is also called Mának Khel, and is included in Khost; and on the road thither is a great Kotal or pass. One kuroh south from Bakr Khel is a small river called the Tsamair, which comes from the right-hand side (west), and, flowing to the left, joins the Shamal river which runs through Khost. The mountains on the right and left are seen at some distance off.

" Two kuroh south of the Tsamair stream is a cluster of villages called Akobí, the name of a section of the Dirmán Afghán clan, and on the way thither are many ascents and descents. Having proceeded from thence another kuroh to the south-west you reach the dry bed of a river. After heavy rains in the mountains during the rainy season, the water comes from the right hand (westward) and, running to the left, joins the Tsamair river, which is also known as the Bakr Khel river.

" From thence (the dry bed of the river) one kuroh to the south-west and south, you reach a small cleft or defile, and, having passed it, and gone another half kuroh south, and another kuroh south-west, you reach a high plateau, which is tolerably level. You then descend half a kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach the bed of a river which is dry, except after rains in the mountains. On either side of it are springs of pure and cool water. This river bed comes from the right hand, and runs to the left to join the Shamal river.

" From this dry river bed one kuroh to the south-west, inclining to south, is Kalaey-i-Bákir Khán (the village of Bákir Khán). This is a place of considerable size belonging to the Mo-ton Afgháns; and half a kuroh south-west from thence is the dry bed of a small river which you cross. The source of this little river is in the Dara'h of Sakra'h, or Sakrá, which is a very fruitful and productive tract. In the upper part of the dara'h the inhabitants have made cuts from the river bed, and conducted the water into their lands; and hence, lower down, the bed is dry.

" Proceeding onwards from the dry bed of this river half a kuroh south-west, you come to Mando Khel, which is a large village. The Dara'h of Sakra'h is seen from thence one kuroh west, on the right-hand side.

" From the village of Bákir Khán to this place the Mo-ton Afgháns dwell.†

" After leaving Mando Khel and advancing two kuroh south-west, you come to the Shamal river; and, proceeding from thence, in the river (in the bed of, or at the side of, the river), for one kuroh to the west, you come to Segí afore-mentioned, situated on the river, on the left hand.

" II. The second of these four roads from Kábul to Segí is by the village of Khirmaná Khel.

" From Kábul to Khirmaná Khel the road has been already given (at page 72). From thence crossing the river of 'Alí Khel, knee deep, to the east side, you proceed for two kuroh in a narrow dara'h of the mountains towards the east, at every footstep ascending, and afterwards, still ascending, after proceeding another kuroh south, you reach the crest of the range. At that point, on the south side, there is a small stream of water, which runs down for a short distance towards the south and is lost. This defile or cleft is called Mang-yár, and the boundary of the territories of Kurma'h and Irí-áb is marked by the line of watershed of these mountains. The defile is very narrow in some places, and its widest parts are not more than about one hundred or

* See page 75. This is turned into " Palliamone " in the Indian Atlas map.

† The town or large village of Bákir Khán would be spoken of as " the village of the Mo-ton clan," but not the village of, or called, Mo-ton.

one hundred and twenty *gaz* (ells) wide. The mountains rise precipitously on either side, in some places like a wall.*

"Having proceeded from the crest of this defile half a kuroh south, you reach the dry bed of a river, which, when the snows melt, contains water which comes from the right hand (south), and runs to the left, and enters the Kurma'h river. On the right and left hand you have lofty mountain ranges. The range on the right they call Kar-yá, and the people dwelling therein belong to the Afghán clan of Jzadrárn, one of the sections of the Bálá or Upper Bangas'h tribe of Mangalí. The mountains on the left hand they call Kurma'h. Proceeding from the river bed just mentioned one kuroh and a half south and south-east, you reach the small village of Pírán, peopled by Sayyids, and on the south side of the village is the river of Irí-áb, called the Kar-yá. It comes from the right hand, and, running to the left, obtains the name of Kurma'h. When in flood, it cannot be crossed, and at other times, although the water generally is not more than knee deep, it is, nevertheless, very cold and very rapid, in such wise that, except at the different fords, horses, camels, and strong men cannot cross.

"Having crossed the river you proceed one kuroh south-east, and reach Isárak (probably Hisárak, vitiated), the name applied to six or seven villages belonging to one of the Bálá or Upper Bangas'h tribes—the tribe of Chamkaní—and the Kar-yá, or Irí-áb river lies near by on the left-hand side. Going from thence half a kuroh to the south-east you reach the commencement of the little Dara'h of Kum-zí, which, from north to south, is about three or four kuroh in length. It contains some ten or twelve villages called by the general name of Dirmán Khel, after a clan of Afgháns. To the south of it is a high mountain range which is called Gabrá†, and the people dwelling therein, consisting of about 700 families, they also are called Gabrá.

"From that direction a considerable river flows, which runs towards the north, and joins the Kar-yá or Irí-áb river. The Dirmán Khel is a clan of one of the Upper Bangas'h tribes.

"Proceeding from Dirmán Khel or the Dara'h of Kum-zí above mentioned, two kuroh and a half along the river in question, in the direction of south-west, you reach a cluster of villages called Sikandar Khel, another section of one of the Upper Bangas'h tribes. The river lies near by on the right-hand (west) side. The people have cut canals from this river, and conducted the water into their fields.

From the Sikandar Khel villages you proceed a kuroh and a half south, inclining to the south-west, and having ascended to a plateau you reach Mangal Khel, the name of several villages belonging to and called after a clan of the Upper Bangas'h tribes, which villages lie on the left hand close to the line of route. A small river comes from the left hand, which, running to the right through the Gabrá mountain range, the abode of the Gabrá, as previously mentioned, runs into the Dara'h of Kum-zí, or Dirmán Khel. The Mangal Khel‡ consists of about 2,000 families, some of whom dwell in fixed habitations, and others roam as íláts or nomads, in this exceedingly cold tract of country.

"From Kábul to the Sikandar Khel villages the mountains are generally lofty, and the roads, like river beds, very narrow and often arduous, but from these villages of the Mangal Khel commences the ascent of difficult and narrow defiles and dara'hs such as cannot be described.

"From the Mangal Khel villages, four kuroh south-east, inclining east, is another cluster of villages belonging to a section of one of the Upper Bangas'h tribes, named Babbal Khel.§ Proceeding onwards from Mangal Khel you ascend up into a mountain tract towering to the clouds, where there is neither water nor inhabitants. It contains numerous forests of *chalghozah*, which the Afgháns term nak'htar and nas'htar, kash-lána'h, and tahtar (*Pinus Gerardiana*). The trees are of two species, one is exceedingly tall and straight, its leaves fine and slender, and its cones very small. Its wood is used for building purposes, and is soft and white. It burns like a torch, in such wise that the people of these parts burn strips of it in place of lamps and torches. The

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* This is the scene of Major-General Roberts' skirmish with a small party of the Mangalí tribe, on the 13th of December 1878. It is fortunate on the part of our small force that the Mangalís were not very numerous on that occasion.

I may mention that the numerous and powerful tribe which has thus been turned into "Mongols" and "Mungals" is called Mangalí, and is descended from Mangalaey, the fifth son of Karlárnaey. The Mangalí are again divided into three sub-tribes, Mughbal, Jzadrárn, and Bahádur-zí, who again are subdivided into several sections. They all dwell contiguous to Khost towards the north, west, and south.

† See Note *, page 86.

‡ This must not be mistaken for the Mangalí tribe, it is but a section or clan of a tribe.

§ Such people as "Boobool" Khel are utterly unknown.

other species is less in height, and not so straight, but its leaves are still more slender, and the cones larger than those of the other. There is much similarity in the leaves of both, and the difference is scarcely noticeable except by those skilled in these matters. The *gandah fírúza'h*, or olibanum (*Boswellia serrata*), clings round and climbs upon the trees in such a manner that with axe and adze it cannot be cut away from them, and it is only after one has burnt the parasite by fire that the chalghozah itself comes forth (*i.e.*, becomes cleared). The wild apple (*seb-i-dashtí*) also grows in this part, and the *gargara'h* or sloe, in great quantities, which the people eat.

Two kuroh south-east from Babbal Khel, proceeding along the hill tops of this range, you reach a little river which comes from the right hand, and, half a kuroh towards the east, falls into the river afore-mentioned (the Sikandar Khel river). You then have to ascend on the right hand, up the mountains, in the direction of south-east towards a defile or cleft called the Traka'h Kotal or Traka'h Ghák'hí or Ghás'hí. Its ascent and descent will be about one kuroh; and two kuroh and a half from thence, in the direction of south-east and east, having entered the dry bed of a river, you reach Chína'h-i-Tsamair, the name of a small village so called after the *china'h*, the Pus'hto for a spring of water, which spouts out like a fountain, to the height of about an ell, from the dry bed of the Tsamair river, to the north of the village. The aperture is about two fists (a span) either way. Round about the spring the ground is dry, and there is no appearance of water, but on the north side of the mouth of the aperture there is a cleft, and out of that the water issues. It is perhaps enough in volume to turn a water-mill, but after running towards the south-east it becomes lost again. You are now in the Dara'h of Tsamair, which will be presently noticed.

"From Chína'h-i-Tsamair half a kuroh east is Kabr-i-Liwan,* the name of the burying place of a darwesh; and in the vicinity of it is a large graveyard. From thence half a kuroh farther east is a cluster of villages, named Liwan, belonging to the Sibrí Afgháns, who are a small clan, consisting of some 3,000 families, and dwell west of the Bakr Khel, mentioned farther on, in the dara'h or valley of the Tsamair river. Cultivation is scanty, and they are not called upon to pay tax or revenue. Their territory is named Tsamair, and is a dara'h seven kuroh in length, and on the east and west of it are lofty mountain ranges.

"From this place—the Sibrí villages—two roads diverge. That on the right hand leads to the village of Akobí, mentioned at page 75. It is the longest, being eight kuroh, but is the most level. The left hand road is this:—From Liwan half a kuroh to the east you come to the dry bed of a river, and, from thence, ascending the acclivity of the mountains for half a kuroh, you then descend on the east side of them. The highest point of these mountains is the boundary between the Dara'h of Tsamair and Bakr Khel.

"Leaving this point (the crest of the ascent marking the boundary) and proceeding half a kuroh to the east, you reach a small river, the water of which comes from the left hand and flows to the right, and joins the Tsamair river. From this small river another half kuroh farther east is Bakr Khel, which village they also call Mának Khel. The land of this dara'h they call Bak. From Bakr Khel to Segí has been already given (at page 77).

"The Bakr Khel clan of Afgháns numbers near upon 6,000 families, and the tract in which they dwell is likewise called Bakr Khel after them. The dara'h is about twelve kuroh long from north to south, and seven in width. On the south side it adjoins the territory of the Dirmán clan. It contains numerous ascents and descents, elevations and depressions, and is included in Khost. The land is for the most part lalmí, but some is rúdí; and the system of cultivation is similar to that carried on in Khost, previously described.

"The Tsamair river comes from the westward, and, flowing through this dara'h, in the direction of south-east joins the Shamal river.

"The Bakr Khel pay 3,000 rupees yearly as revenue, and have to furnish a contingent of 60 horsemen to the army of Tímúr Sháh, Durráni (when called upon).

"III. The third road is from Kábul to Segí in Khost by way of Baghzaṇ.

"From Kábul to Baghzan, the chief place in Irí-áb, the route has been already given (at pages 68 to 72). From Baghzaṇ, having proceeded one kuroh to the south, you turn towards the south-east, and then, having gone one kuroh and a half in that

* Probably Lewanaey (mad, insane, crazy, frenzied). The Sibrí country is mentioned at p. 82 as lying west of the Maidán Dara'h of the Údzí Khel, and south of the Bakr Khel country. A comparison of these descriptions will show its situation pretty accurately.

direction, turn south again and proceed onwards for another kuroh. You then have to turn south-east again, and continue to advance in that direction for two kuroh, when you reach the 'Alí Khel river, and here the Dara'h of Irí-áb, in this direction, terminates.

"After this you proceed about eight kuroh, or rather less, along the before-mentioned river, after which you reach the villages belonging to the Chamkaní* tribe of Afgháns, referred to at page 35, and this dara'h they call Kar-yá (*see* also page 78), which is exceedingly narrow and difficult to pass. In the ridges of these hills the Jzadrárn section of the Mangalí tribe dwell. From the Isarák villages to the village of Paiwár it is six kuroh to the north, and Istíá lies six kuroh towards the north-east.

"The route from Isárak to Segí has been already given at page 78.

"IV. The fourth road is from Kábul to Segí in Khost by the Kotal-i-Sin, or Sin Pass.†

"The route from Kábul to Khirmaná Khel has been given at page 72. Starting from thence, and proceeding one kuroh south-west, inclining west, you reach Azár Darakht,‡ a village belonging to the Údzí Khel, and the village of Baghzan lies half a kuroh to the left.

"From Azár Darakht two kuroh south-west, inclining south, is the Kotal-i-Sin, the name of a great kotal or pass. On the way are forests of chalghozah or pine, and the air is exceedingly cold. From thence ten kuroh is the manzil or stage of Gardaiz; and the route from thence to Segí has been previously given at page 75. This route is not only the most difficult but also the longest.

Fourth Route. From Kábul to Bázár-i-Ahmad Khán, which is the seat of government of the district of Bannú, by way of Kurma'h, which is one hundred kuroh in the direction of south-east. This route also leads into the Dera'h-ját.

"From Kábul to the village of Istíá on the Kurma'h river the route has been already described, at page 76. From Istíá five kuroh east, inclining south-east, is Údzí Khel, the name by which several villages of the Dzádzís,§ a tribe of the Bálá or Upper Bangas'h Afghán tribes, so called, are known, and the Kurma'h river lies near by on the right hand. The road is very crooked and winding.

"The waters flowing out of the Dara'hs of Paiwar, Shalúzán, also called Shanúzán, Zerán, and Karmán, having joined together, come from the left hand, and on the west side, under the village (chief village) of the Údzí Khel Dzádzís, join the Kurma'h river."‖

Before proceeding farther towards Bannú, as we are at present in the Kurma'h district, it will be well to give our author's account of it, and its adjoining Dara'hs.

Kurma'h.

"Kurma'h¶ is the name of a large dara'h among the mountains, from east to west over forty kuroh in length, and there is very little level ground to be found in it. Among its chief towns are Zúmik'ht or Zúmis'ht, Sadá, Buland Khel, Balímín, Údzí Khel, Shanúzán or Shalúzán, previously mentioned, Paiwar, and Istíá, sometimes called Astiyá.

"It has several considerable dara'hs on either side of it, which are very productive, yielding heavy crops, consisting of rice, barley, and wheat, and vast quantities of fruit, including cool and sweet pomegranates. Nearly every village is named after a clan, and every dara'h, generally, after a tribe. Kurma'h yields close upon one lakh of rupees to the treasury of Tímúr Sháh, Durrání, and each clan or section of a tribe has to furnish a contingent of troops, which, in time of war, have to present themselves at the bár-gáh, or place of audience of the Bádsháh.

* The Chamkaní is a small tribe of the Ghwarí or Ghwaríah Khel, previously noticed.

† This Kotal is, I believe, what appears in the Indian Atlas map as "Kaseen (?)," and in older maps as "Kasien." Some native, probably, giving information about it in Hindústání, used the genitive particle *ká*—Sin ká Kotal—and thus *ká* became prefixed—"Kotal Kasin."

‡ This word is not written with *h*, therefore it must not be mistaken for "hazár darakht," or "thousand trees."

§ The Dzádzís, like the Túrís, claim other descent, which is referred to at page 82.

‖ This differs much from the maps of these parts, which require as much rectification here as elsewhere. From the nature of the country through which they flow these rivers could not have altered their course much.

¶ "Kurram" and "Khurram" are equally incorrect.

"On the north side of this great dara'h three distinct ranges of mountains rise, one above the other, the farthest being the loftiest, which is for the most part always covered with snow, called Spín Ghar by the Afgháns, and Safed Koh by the Persian speaking inhabitants, signifying the white or snowy mountain range. From its proximity to the territory of Tí-ráh, this range is likewise known as the Tí-ráh range. The lower ranges are clothed with forests of pine and other forest trees.

Irí-áb.

"The Dara'h of Irí-áb, lying west of the Paiwaṛ kotal, is twenty kuroh in length from north to south, and, as in the case of the Kurma'h valley, very little level space is to be found in it, but it is very fruitful. The inhabitants cultivate the ground on the ridges or slopes of the mountains, and grow much rice, wheat, and barley. They are of the Dzádzí tribe, one of whose clans or sections is styled by the name of Údzí, Khel.

Paiwaṛ.

"Another dara'h is Paiwaṛ, whose inhabitants are of the Túrí tribe. They are notorious on account of their being of the faith (and mistaken for Shí'ahs) of the schismatic, the Pír-i-Ros'hán or Rok'hán, or Saint of Light, as he styled himself, but nick-named Pír-i-Tárík, or Saint of Darkness, by the Akhúnd, Darwezah, previously mentioned in note **, page 45, who lived in the reign of Akbar Bádsháh, and was the cause of many terrible misfortunes to the Afghán people, and others of these parts. The Túrís number about 6,000 or 7,000 families, and Paiwaṛ is one of their largest places. Baghzaṇ is their chief town.

"The east side of this dara'h joins Spín Ghar or the Tí-ráh range, out of which a considerable river issues. It passes east of the town of Baghzaṇ, enters the Kurma'h territory, and receives the name of Kurma'h, or river of Kurma'h. It flows by Bannú and Laka'í, and at last falls into the Abáe Sind or Indus, in the country of the 'Isá Khel Afgháns.

Shanúzán or Shalúzán.

"East of Paiwaṛ is the large Dara'h of Shálúzán* or Shanúzán—*n* being interchangeable with *l*—about seven kuroh in length from north to south. It adjoins the Spín Ghar range on the north. A small river issues from it, through which, as the term dara'h indicates, it runs, and joins the Paiwaṛ river. Its inhabitants are Túrís, but there are a few Awán-kárs dwelling therein. They are a Jat tribe, the majority of whom now dwell in the Sind-Ságar Do-ába'h of the Panjáb†.

Zerán.

"East of Shanúzán again is another Dara'h, called Zerán, running in a south-westerly direction from Spín Ghar, and five kuroh in length. A stream issuing from Spín Ghar flows through it, and unites with the river which runs through the Dara'h of Kaṛmán. Its inhabitants also are Túrís, and some few Awán-kárs.

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* This is referred to by historians as Sankúrán, which is the name of a section of the great tribe of Ghuzz (see "Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 374, and note 5, and page 376), who overran great part of what is now called Afghánistán after their defeat and capture of Sultán Sanjar, the Saljúk. In 569 H. (1173-74, A.D.), Ghaznín was wrested out of the hands of the Ghuzz by the Sultán of Ghúr, Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, who made his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, Wálí or ruler of the Ghaznín territory. In the following year, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad, acquired possession of the Dara'h of Gardaiz. In the year 571 H. (1175-76, A.D.), to quote the words of the author of the Tabakát-i-Násirí, "the Sankúrán—also written "Shalúzán in one of the oldest copies of the text of that work—tribe broke out into rebellion, and committed "great violence, until, in the year 572 H. (1176-77, A.D.), he (Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad) marched an army "against them, and fell upon that people, and put the greater number of them to the sword. They have "related that most of the Sankúrán tribe were manifestly confessors of the Kur'án creed, who, on this occasion, "obtained martyrdom; but, as they had stirred up rebellion, they were put to death, as a matter of exigency, "according to sovereign prerogative."—Pages 450, 451.

† Jahán-gír Bádsháh, in his Autobiography, states:—"Mahábat Khán sent me some apples from Bangas'h by "dák chaukí (by post), and they reached me fresh and juicy; and such rare and delicious apples I had never "seen. They say that in Upper Bangas'h, near the Shakar dara'h or pass, there is a village called Shanúzán, "and that there are only three trees producing these apples; and, notwithstanding all the efforts that have "been made to propagate them, they cannot get them to grow to such perfection anywhere else."

"*Kaṛmán.*

"The Kaṛmán Dara'h* is one of considerable size, lying north-east and south-west, and about nine kuroh in length. It adjoins Spín Ghar on the north, and out of it a river runs which unites with that issuing from the Zerán Dara'h, and the united streams, within three kuroh of the Údzí Khel villages, fall into the Kurma'h river. Its inhabitants are Awán-kárs."†

These districts and dara'hs formed the appanage of Malik Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, the mamlúk, and mihtar or chief of the Turk Maliks of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, the Tájzík Ghúrí, Sultán of Ghaznín and Hind, who established the Musalmán power and religion in Hindústán. Táj-ud-Dín, like his fellow mamlúk, Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, and several others, was a Turk. I have already mentioned that sections of the Khalj, Kankulí, Kárlúgh, and other Turk and Ghuzz tribes were settled in those parts at the period in question, and had been there for some centuries previous, and long before the Pus'htánah or Afgháns passed beyond their tún or original country, that is to say, the tracts from the koh-páyah or hill-skirts, immediately east of Ghaznín, to the eastern slopes of the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah—Pus'ht or Puk'ht, or Pás'ht or Pák'ht.

For the reasons above mentioned, it is not surprising that so many places still retain their Turkish names, and that the Túrís (Túrí and Túrání are synonymous terms) and Dzádzís, descended from Túrí and Dzádzí, the adopted sons of Khogí, son of Mangalí, son of Karlární, the progenitor of the Khogíání tribe, are considered, on very good grounds, to be of Turkish descent.

Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz,‡ which latter name, in Turkish, signifies "a star," succeeded to the throne of the Ghaznín kingdom, according to the wish and request of his master and sovereign, while, for the same reason, Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, succeeded to the sovereignty of Hind. They were granted letters of manumission and confirmed in the sovereignties of those states by their suzerain, Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, son of Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, who succeeded to the sovereignty of Ghúr after

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* Major (now Lieutenant-General Sir H. B.) Lumsden, K.C.S.I., when on his "Mission to Candahar" in 1857, in this very dara'h of Kaṛmán, which he styles "Kirman," discovered "the shrine of Fahm i Allam, the "father of Nadir Shah," which is "considered very sacred by the Turi tribes." The name of Nádir's father was Imám Kulí, and he was not a saint; he did not die in Kaṛmán, and was never there in his life.

† Afzal Khán, chief of the Khatak Afgháns, states that, in the years 1112 and 1113 H. (1700, 1702, A.D.) when Bahádur Sháh, son of Auranzeb-i-'Álam-gír, was Súbah-dár of Kábul (that is to say, of all the territory belonging to Dílhí, west of the Indus), he set out from his home to attend that Prince, as commanded. The Prince wanted to relieve a post which was held by a Bárah Sayyid, in the Dawaṛ valley, and to settle the affairs of the Kohát district, and of Bannú. He was encamped at Angú when Afzal Khán presented himself, and subsequently broke up his camp, saying that he intended to proceed to Kábul by way of the Dara'hs of Zerán and Kaṛmán, and would pass the remainder of the summer there. Afzal Khán then says, "I received "my *congé*, with directions to make arrangements about the safety of the Resí route. I proceeded by way of "Balah-min to Khúrmah and Khachatú, and set out to arrange about the route in question."

Bahádur Sháh spent some time in Zerán and Kaṛmán, and employed the whole time in making the defile over the mountains to the north practicable. It is a road which leads from Zerán and Kaṛmán through the Spín Ghar mountains, and descends from thence down to Gandamak, but, unfortunately, the work was not completed before he departed for Kábul.

Now that I have pointed out this important fact, I hope one of the surveyors attached to the Kurma'h or Jalál-ábád columns will survey it, and "*palmam qui meruit ferat.*" See also under the head of Hisárak, at page 96. The roads require to be watched in case of accident.

‡ This name is written Yal-duz by the author of the Tabakát-i-Násirí, but historians dwelling among Turks, or belonging to those people, write it I-yal-dúz, as above.

The author above named was the contemporary of these two slaves and their master, the Sultán; and every writer, without a single exception, says they were Turkish slaves. Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, was first purchased by Fakhr-ud-Dín, 'Abd-ul-'Azíz, the Chief Kází of Níshápúr. When he grew up, some merchants brought Í-bak to Ghaznín, and Sultán Mu-izz-ud-Din, Muhammad-i-Sám, purchased him. General Ferrier, who wrote a "History of the Afghans," "informs us" (page 17) "that the Afghan rule in India commenced at the death "of Mahmood Gouree in 1205," and that "the Indian provinces fell to Koutoob, one of his generals of the "Afghan tribe of Lood." This is incorrect, as well as a statement by Mr. Bellew, in his book entitled "Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857," pages 80 and 81, where he says, "Nevertheless "another branch of this people ('Afghans of Ghor' he is referring to) conquered Hindustan, and in the person "of Ibráhím Loe, or Lodi (who belonged to an elder branch of the Ghor family of Afghans), established a "dynasty of emperors of this race at Delhi, about the year 1193, A.D.," etc., etc.

There never was but one ruler of Dihlí, named Ibráhím, and he was the son of Sikandar, son of Bah-lúl, the Lúdí, Afghán; and he succeeded his father to the soveignty of Dihlí in 923 H, (1517 A.D.). The Súr clan, which gave sovereigns to Dihlí after Humáyún's dethronement, were also Lúdís. Síání, son of Lúdí, had two sons, (1) Prankí, one section of whose descendants is called the Sháhú Khel, to which Sultán Bah-lúl belonged; and (2) Ismá'íl, from whose son, Súr, in the third degree, sprang the Shirá Khel, to which Sher Sháh and his successors belonged. The Ghúrís were Tájzíks and not Afgháns. See my paper, "Who were the 'Patan' or 'Pathán' Sultáns of Dihlí?" in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xliv., Part 1, 1875.

the death of his uncle, Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, above referred to. These events will be found in detail in my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," pages 297, 398, and 496.

Mr. Clements Markham tells us, in his paper on the "Afghán Frontier" in the first number of the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," on the authority of Mr. E. Thomas, apparently, that "it was from Kurram that Ilduz advanced over the Shutar-Gardan and *conquered* Ghazni." He may have used the Shutar-Gardana'h pass, probably, for his government extended as far as the bottom of the pass leading into Gardaiz, but *no history says so*. As to his "conquering Ghazni," the following are the facts. On the death of his master and sovereign, two sons of the late Sultán of Bámíán and Tukháristán, Bahá-ud-Dín, Sám, of the house of Shansab, instigated by a faction, came and seized upon Ghaznín, and appropriated the vast treasures accumulated there. The author of the "Tabakát-i-Násirí," the contemporary of Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, who was brought up at the court of the Princess, the daughter of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, the sovereign of Ghúr and head of the family and dynasty, and whose father was Kází of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín's army in Hindústán, states in his work:—"In the last year of the reign of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, when "that monarch, on his last expedition into Hind, came into Karmán and halted there, "he conferred upon Táj-ud-Dín, Yal-duz, a black banner, and it was the desire of "his august mind that Táj-ud-Dín, Yal-duz, after himself, should succeed to the "throne of Ghaznín. When the Sultán attained martyrdom, it was the desire and "disposition of the Turk Maliks (including Yal-duz himself) and Amírs that Sultán "Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, son of Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muhammad, son of Sám, should come "from the confines of the Garm-sír to Ghaznín, and ascend his uncle's throne. . . . "To this effect they wrote to the court of Fírúz-koh, and represented, saying, "'The Sultáns of Bámíán are acting oppressively, and are ambitious of obtain- "'ing possession of Ghaznín. Thou art heir to the dominion, and we are thy "'slaves.' Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, replied, saying, 'To me the throne of "'my father, which is the capital, Fírúz-koh, and the kingdom of Ghúr, is the most "'desirable. I confer the territory of Ghaznín on you;' and he despatched a robe "of honour to Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, Yal-duz, and presented him with a letter of manu- "mission, and assigned the throne of Ghaznín unto him."—Pages 501 and 502.

'Alá-ud-Dín, Muhammad, and Jalál-ud-Dín, 'Alí, the two sons of the late Bahá-ud-Dín, Sám, of Bámíán, arrived at Ghaznín two days after the corpse of the late Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad, had been conveyed thither, and the former usurped the throne. I-yal-dúz had not yet left his government of Karmán. He was preparing to do so when pressing solicitations reached him from the Wazír of the late Sultán and the principal Amírs to come and deliver them from the Bámíán faction. He speedily appeared. 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muhammad, was vanquished, and he and his brother, and the Ghúrí Maliks, his supporters, were made prisoners. I-yal-dúz entered Ghaznín, and shortly after allowed his captives to return to Bámíán. He appears after this to have returned to Karmán, for, not long after, the two brothers again appeared before Ghaznín, and 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muhammad, despatched an army towards Karmán against Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz. He prepared to move against it, and detached part of his troops in advance, under the leadership of Aetkín, a Táttár officer, who came upon the Ghúrí Maliks at the Rabát-i-Sankúrán, otherwise Shanúzán, "drunk and senseless," seized them and put them to death, and dispersed the force. I-yal-dúz advanced to Ghaznín, and invested 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muhammad, therein for a period of four months, after which his brother, Jalál-ud-Dín, 'Alí, with an army from Bámíán, arrived upon the scene, to endeavour to raise the investment. He was overthrown and captured, and 'Alá-ud-Dín, his brother, gave up Ghaznín. I-yal-dúz again allowed the brothers to depart uninjured, after having obtained from them stipulations as to their future conduct. All this can scarcely be styled his "conquering Ghaznín," or his being merely "in charge of the metropolis of Ghazní," of which he was sovereign.

Why he used his master's name on his coins, instead of his own, after he succeeded to the Ghaznín throne, is detailed in the "Tabakát-i-Násirí" (*see* "Translation," pages 526, 527).

On one occasion hostility arose between I-yal-dúz and Í-bak, who was his son-in-law, about the possession of Láhor, when I-yal-dúz was defeated by Í-bak, and had to retire from the banks of the Indus, to which he had advanced, into Karmán again. Í-bak, by another route, made a rapid march upon Ghaznín, and seized it.* He was only

* Through Khost or one of the routes farther north.

in possession of it for forty days, however, for, by this time, news of Í-bak's riotous proceedings had reached I-yal-dúz, and he had been entreated by the Maliks of the kingdom and the people of Ghaznín to come to their rescue. As the distance between Karmán and Ghaznín was short, I-yal-dúz arrived unexpectedly at the capital, from which Í-bak had to retire precipitately towards Hind, by the route of Sang-i-Surákh, or the perforated rock or stone.

I-yal-dúz, some years later, had to take this same route, when the troops of Sultán Muhammad, Khwárazm Sháh, suddenly marched an army from the side of Tukháristán and unexpectedly seized the routes leading into Hind by the Gardaiz and Karahah Dara'hs. The latter is possibly the place which appears as "Khurwur" in some of our older maps, north of Gardaiz, or Khurwur, rather, is intended to represent it.

A Sang-i-Surákh route, from the Derah-ját to Farmúl, is mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh.*

The history of the careers of I-yal-dúz and Í-bak will be found in the before-mentioned "Translation," pages 496 to 528.

These Dara'hs of Karmán, Zerán, and Shalúzán, in those days produced silk, and do so up to the present time. It is stated that every year that Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad, set out on his expeditions into Hindústán he used to halt for a time in Karmán, and Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, on these occasions, used to feast the whole of the Amírs and Maliks, and suite of the Sultán, and used to present one thousand honorary head-dresses and quilted tunics on such occasions. It is not improbable that these or a portion of them were the manufacture of the district.

Khost, Dawar, Maidán, Sibrí, and Bakr Khel have been already described in their proper places. Kohát is included in the great division of Bangas'h, but, for convenience, it will be mentioned further on, when I am describing the routes leading to it.

I now return to the description of the route to the chief town of Bannú.

"From Údzí Khel (*see* page 80) seven or eight kuroh east is Dirárín. You proceed along by the Kurma'h river, and the village of Sada'h lies two kuroh on the left-hand side. From thence (Dirárín) one kuroh south is Mukh-zí, which is also a large village on the Kurma'h river, lying on the right-hand side. From thence one kuroh and a half is the large village of Bal-yamain,† belonging to a section of one of the Bálá Bangas'h tribes, and the river lies near by, on the right hand. From thence fifteen kuroh, keeping along the course of the river, is Bug-zí, on the river bank, and one kuroh and a half farther on is Badá Khel, also on the bank of the Kurma'h river. One kuroh still farther to the south-east is the large village of Buland Khel, peopled by a clan of one of the tribes of Bálá Bangas'h, and here the Bangas'h territory terminates.‡

"On the way to this place there are numerous villages, and the road has many ascents and descents. The Kurma'h river lies close by on the right hand, and mountain ranges, towering to the sky, lie both on the right and left hand.

"From Buland Khel, seventeen kuroh south-east, is the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, a large town on the bank of the Kurma'h river, which you have to cross by means of a raft, north of the town. On the way thither you pass through a populous and cultivated district, and the river appears near by on the right hand. The people are of the Shítak tribe of Afgháns."§

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* *See* note *, page 86.

† Afgháns write it Balah-min.

‡ Afzal Khán, Khatak, relates in his history that, subsequent to his stay in Zerán and Karmán, the Prince, Bahádur Sháh, was desirous of sending some of his people from thence by the Buland Khel route to Bannú, whither he was himself about to proceed, but that he, Afzal Khán, recommended the route by Láchí (farther north), and offered to escort them by the Chautaraey road. But no: they went by Buland Khel; and, after they had passed it, found that the Wazírí Afgháns occupied the route in their front. They defeated the Prince's party with great loss of life. All their baggage and tents fell into the hands of the Wazírís, and they had to retreat to Buland Khel again. This opposition on the part of the Wazírís was caused through the bad faith of an upstart, called 'Alí Rizá, who was in the Prince's service, and entrusted with the management of important affairs. Some time before, under the promise of effecting an accommodation with the Wazírís, he had induced several persons of that tribe to come to him, and then he put them to death; and he, who was totally unacquainted with military affairs, was made the commander of the force despatched to Bannú.

§ Places situated between these long stages here are referred to in other cross routes.

*Fifth Route. From Ghaznín to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, by way of Dawaṛ.**

"From Ghaznín, ten kuroh south-east, inclining east, is Rámak, a place (village ?) inhabited by the Ghalzí tribe, and here the ílát or nomad Ghálzís dwell.† From them eight kuroh in the same direction is Shor Kajá, likewise a large village. East of it is a deep kol or lake, which is formed by rain water. From this lake the people have made cuts, and conducted the water to their cultivated lands.

"From thence five kuroh is Sih Rauza'h, a large village, where there are, as the name indicates, the tombs of three holy men.‡ Five kuroh farther on, in much the same direction, having crossed a lofty mountain range bounding it on the west, you reach Urgún, also written Wargún and Wargín, but the former is the most correct form of writing it, a large village belonging to the Parmúlí or Farmúlí tribe, who are Tájzíks."

The Tokhí Ghalzí Mullá, to whom I have previously referred, and who was personally acquainted with the locality, would not admit that the Parmúlís were Tájzíks. His account is that they are Afgháns; he does not mean that they are Ghalzís, and that Urgún is also the name of the country or district belonging to the Parmúlís, and also the dwelling-place of the Parmúl Maliks of the great tribe of Ghalzí, the Maliks of the Ghalzí clans of Tarakí, Andar, Sahák, Sulímán Khel, and Sáfi, of whom, and of the kochís or powandahs of this great tribe, an account will be given in its proper place.§

There are pine forests around Urgún, and near it is an iron mine. "From the "time of the Hájí, Mír Wais, from the year 1120 H. (1708-9, A.D.) down to this "day," said my Tokhí Mullá, "the year 1284 H. (1867-68, A.D.), the descendants "of the Hájí enjoy the revenues of this part year by year."

To resume, however. "From Urgún three kuroh, much in the same direction as before, is Pír Kútai (Kútaey ?), and from thence another three kuroh, Kharotí. These are the names of Ghalzí villages on the Tonchí river, which issues from the mountain range west of this dara'h (of Parmúl or Farmúl). It passes west and south of Urgún, and lies near by on the right hand as you proceed along the road.‖

"From Kharotí five kuroh in the same direction is Marghah, a place inhabited by the Wazírí tribe¶ of Afgháns, and the Tonchí river lies near by on the right-hand side. From thence seven kuroh east is Kabr-i-Mullá Kalúb, and the river still lies near on the right hand. Four kuroh east is Pá'í Khel, and another three kuroh farther on in the same direction is Malakh, inhabited by the Dawaṛ Afgháns, and here the Dawaṛ territory begins.

"From thence two kuroh north-east is the Kalaey of Ahmad Khán, a large village on the left hand, on the Tonchí river.

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* All these routes are important, and this one in particular, for many reasons, and throw much light on the geography of the least known part of the old Afghán country. These routes are not referred to, I believe, in any accounts yet published.

† Báyazíd, the Byát, relates that the Chár-pá Hazárahs, whose temporary dwellings were situated between Tásán and Kalgháj, and distant about six kuroh from Ghaznín, had refused to pay their revenue. Humáyún Bádsháh commanded that a force should be sent against them. While a force was being moved from Ghaznín, the troops of the feudatory of Gardaiz concealed themselves behind the detached mountain of Rah or Rib, which lies between Tásán and Rámak. The latter set out, early in the night, by way of the village of Yúnán, a dependency of Gardaiz, and at midnight the force reached the village of Kalál or Kulál. The Hazárahs sent away their families and flocks to Sardah, Kará-Bágh (the Black Garden, Kará is Turkí), and Kal'a'h-i-Sangín, but themselves remained to withstand the Ghaznín troops, unaware of the ambuscade laid by the Gardaiz forces.

The success was but partial on the part of the former, and they returned to Ghaznín, and the Hazárahs to their temporary homes again.

‡ This placed, Sih Rauzah, is what appears in the map of Afghanistan, in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for January, 1879, as Surifza.

§ Afgháns generally, I may say for the most part, do not admit the claim of the Parmúlís to be considered Afgháns or Patáns. During the reigns of the first Patán Sultáns of Hindústán, namely, those of Bah-lúl and Sikandar, and again in the time of Sher Sháh, this claim of the Parmúlís was frequently discussed in the assemblies of those sovereigns, but was not admitted. In the genealogical tree of the Afghán nation, which I shall shortly publish, a Parmúlí or Farmúlí, both modes of writing being synonymous, is entered among the twenty-four sons of Kákaṛ, son of Dánaey. He was probably an adopted son.

In his last book, Afghanistan and the Afghans," Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., makes out the Kakars (page 218), as he styles them, to be the same as "the Gakar tribe of Indians in the north Panjab," the same which Major-General A. Cunningham, C.S.I., pronounces "Indo-Scythians" like the Kárlúgh Turks. There is as much difference in the two people, and their names, as there is between the Ghalzí Afgháns and the "Turk tribe of Khilich, which was anciently located in the upper course of the Jaxartes."

‖ The maps are all incorrect here, as well as defective. This river, in the map in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," is made to pass in a totally contrary direction.

¶ This great tribe will be noticed in another Section of the Notes. I may mention that "Waziristan," as their country has been recently styled, is as unknown to the Wazírís as "Kakaristan" is to the Kákars.

"From Urgún to this place you follow the course of the Tonchí, and lofty mountain ranges lie near by on either side of this broad dara'h.* As previously mentioned, this river comes from the left, passes towards the right, and flows on to the east. The Wazírí tribe infest the route for some distance, and inflict injury on travellers.

"From the Kalaey of Ahmad Khán half a kuroh east is Pírán Sháh, consisting of two or three villages belonging to Pír-zádahs (descendants of a holy man or spiritual guide) of the Wazírí tribe, on the right hand side of the river Tonchí.

"On both sides of the river are several villages, named Músarí, belonging to the Afgháns of Dawar."

Here it will be well to give a brief account of the Dawar Dara'h.

The Dawar Tribe and Country.

"Dawar is the name of a numerous division of the Shítak tribe of Afgháns, numbering about 20,000 families, the descendants of Shítak, son of Kakí, son of Karlární. Every hamlet is called after the name of a section of the tribe. They are not under the authority of a single chief, but several, and have neither tax nor tribute to pay. This dara'h of the mountains or valley in which they dwell, in fixed dwellings as cultivators of the soil, lies in a very cold climate. It is extensive, and runs from the Bannú district up to the mountain tracts in which the Wazírís dwell, a distance of over forty kuroh in length. There is no level land in their country, it may be said, for they dwell on the acclivities, ridges, and in depressions of the hills, and cultivate such land as there is capable of cultivation. The Tonchí river comes from the left (the west), from the direction of the country of the Wazírís, and runs through the dara'h to the east, where it finally joins the Kurma'h.

"The people have cut canals from the river in all directions, and brought water for irrigation purposes into their lands. Rice, wheat, barley, lentils, múng (*Phaseolus mungo*), and cotton, are produced in considerable quantities. Wells are usual in the dara'h, nevertheless they do not irrigate their lands from them, and, on account of the stony nature of the soil, they are not able to plough, therefore they use the mattock and shovel instead in their agricultural work. They possess great herds of cattle.

"The chief place in this valley, which in ancient times was a large city, but is now totally ruined, they style S'hahr (the city).† The tomb of Malik Ajdar is in this dara'h likewise. They say that this holy man was of the Muhammadan faith, and hold his resting place in great veneration. They constantly offer up prayers there, and invoke his intercession.

"One of the choicest productions of this tract, however, is their horses, which are of two descriptions. One they call Gala'h-i-Duzd (the Stolen Herd, or Thief's Herd), which is short in stature, with large eyes, and capable of enduring immense fatigue and labour, swift-footed, and of good pace. This kind they hold most precious. The other species is called Barí Gala'h-i-Khizrí, but although they are tall animals, large-eyed, delicate skinned, and low waisted, they do not prize them nearly so much as the other kind."

Bahádur Sháh, while he held the Súbahdár-ship of the province of Kábul, under his father Aurangzeb, in 1112 H. (1700–1, A.D.), set out towards the autumn of 1113 H. (1701, A.D.), by the Khost route, for Dawar, and after entering it found the route occupied by the Wazírí, Dawar, and other Afgháns. He could not get on, and it was only after an arrangement with them, effected by the Nawwáb Násir Khán, that the Prince succeeded in reaching Bannú with his forces.

Subsequently, after having passed the winter in Bannú, the Prince set out for Kábul. On reaching the Hasan tangaey, or defile, the whole of the Afghán tribes of that part, the Wazírís, Dawars, and Khost people, came and occupied the pass to bar his progress. He sent troops in advance, who attacked them, but the Afgháns repulsed them with considerable loss, and there was much fear lest the whole force should be destroyed. The Prince was obliged to treat with the Afgháns, and, after expending

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* According to the map just referred to, between Urgún and Pá'í Khel, "the Pushtú mountains, bounding Khorasan and India, according to the natives" must be crossed, but with all the minute detail here given they are never once referred to. Indeed, the contrary may be inferred, for I do not think the writer would have neglected to mention such a fact, if the supposed range had any palpable existence.

Bábar Bádsháh mentions two routes from the Derah-ját—the Dasht or plain, as he styles it—one of which, the Sang-i-Surákh road, passes Barak (Barak-zí? *see* page 88), and goes to Farmúl, and from thence to Ghaznín. The other route follows the banks of the Farmúl river—the Tonchí,—and on to Farmúl.

† *See* pages 87 and 92.

much gold upon them, they left the passage clear, but from thence until he reached Kábul again, every here and there, his people were plundered of their baggage and stragglers were cut off.

To return to the continuation of the route.

"From Pírán Sháh one kuroh east, inclining south-east, is Khú-zí, a village named after an Afghán clan; and one kuroh east, inclining north-east, is Nek-zí, a small village peopled by the darweshes or recluses of this territory. The tomb (of their progenitor?) and burying place of this family are situated on the south side of it. The Tonchí river lies distant on the left hand.

"Half a kuroh north of Nek-zí are a few hamlets on the banks of the same river, called Drap Khel, after a small section of an Afghán clan of this part. From opposite the Kalaey or village of Ahmad Khán* a canal has been cut from the Tonchí, and the water brought into the lands of the Drap Khel, or Drap-zí hamlets.

"From Drap Khel one kuroh and a half south is another cluster of three or four villages on either side of the river, called Mírán Sháh, and from thence having proceeded three kuroh north-east, inclining east, you reach the shrine of Malik Ajdar, previously referred to, a holy man, whom the people say was one of the as'háb or companions of the Prophet Muhammad. It lies near by (the road) on the right hand, and the Tonchí river passes it on the south, on the farther side.

"From thence half a kuroh north-east is Tap-Ya'í, another cluster of Afghán villages. The river lies some distance away, on the right hand.

"From the Mírán Sháh villages to these the route is styled Taghran,† and is dangerous to travellers through fear of the Wazírís, and therefore they take a badraka'h, or escort, to secure safety.

"From Tap-Ya'í three kuroh to the north-east is Mubárak Shí, the name given to several villages, being also the name of a section of the clan from which, in ancient times, came the Sardárs, or chiefs and rulers of the tribe of Dawar. The Tonchí lies near by on the right-hand side. Two kurohs and a half from thence, north-east, is another cluster of villages, called Ídak, lying on both sides of the river. Half a kuroh farther to the east is the small village of Zerkaey (probably Zerka'í) on the right-hand side, adjoining the road, and another half a kuroh east, on the left-hand side, also adjoining the road, are the villages of Khudaey,‡ and Údzí Khel. East of the village of Khudaey, on the left hand, is a ruin named by the people the S'hahr, or city, which in ancient times was the seat of government of this territory.§

"From thence (Khudaey) one kuroh east is the village of Asírí, lying on the left hand, and one kuroh east, inclining south-east, are Mai Sagaey‖ and Aor-mar,¶ two villages on the left-hand side in a dara'h of the mountains, and from the latter place to Buland Khel, a distance of eighteen kuroh, is sufficiently well known, and on the way is a lofty mountain range. You proceed by this route by the aid and favour of the Wazírí tribe of Afgháns.

"From Aor-mar half a kuroh south-east is Alú Khel, a large village on the Tonchí river, and from thence another kuroh** east is Bará Khel, also called Idir Khel, on the bank of the river on the left-hand side of the road. Here two roads branch off. The left-hand one is this. From Bará Khel two kuroh east is the village of Abí Khel, on the same river, and another kuroh and a half east is Haidar Khel,†† also on the river; and here the Dawar territory terminates.

"From the mazár or tomb of Malik Ajdar to this place, the Tonchí, or river of Dawar, lies near the line of route on the right hand; in fact, you follow the course of the river nearly, and the road is like a dara'h—a narrow valley—being bounded by mountain ranges, which are close by, on both the right and left hand. In them the Wazírís dwell after the manner of íláts or nomads.

"From Haidar Khel one kuroh and a half south-west is Wazírí, the name of a

* See page 85.

† The "Togra Tangi" of the latest map. It is somewhat remarkable that there should be two places so called so far apart, and the name written in the peculiar manner before referred to at page 70.

‡ "Kudree" of the map.

§ This, I am inclined to believe, is the site of Naghar, of Amír Tímúr's history, hitherto incorrectly called Naghaz, through some copyist adding an extra point to the r in that word.

‖ Turned into "Moosukhee" in the map.

¶ In two copies of the original it is written Aor-muz, but the above is undoubtedly the most correct, which is the name of a small tribe descended from Aor-mar, fifth son of Sharkhabún. The copyists must have mistaken the diacritical point over the last letter, ر and made ز of it. The correct name probably is "the Aor-mar village."

** See the note on "kuroh" at page 3. The kurohs seem less here than in other routes, judging from the distances between some of the places on our frontier here mentioned, and contained in the Indian Atlas maps.

†† This is the place which was burnt in 1870 by a force from the Panjáb Frontier Force.

halting place of that tribe, and on the way thither is a high defile called Rúchá,* which is passed with difficulty, and the river runs on the left hand close by. A canal has been cut from the bed of the river, and the water conducted into the lands of the Mírí and Barak-zí clans.

"Four kuroh east, inclining south-east, from the Wazírí halting place, are several villages of a clan of the Shítak tribe, known by the name of Mírí, and from them two roads diverge. The right-hand one leads by the Barak-zí villages to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, the chief town of Bannú, and the left-hand route is as follows:—

"From the Mírí villages one kuroh east is the Tonchí Nahr or canal, which you pass, the water not being deep and of no great volume, coming from the right hand and running to the left. Four kuroh north-east from thence is Dá'úd Sháh, a large village on the bank of the Kurma'h river. From the north side of that village they have cut a great canal to the river, called Kuch Kit, and divided it into two parts or divisions. The one, containing a large volume of water, has been carried three or four kuroh towards the east. It passes through the cultivated lands of the district, and rejoins the Kurma'h river below the town of Bannú. The other, containing a much smaller volume of water, has been carried towards the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, into the lands and to the water-mills in that direction.†

"From the village of Dá'úd Sháh a short distance is Pírán Sháh, a small village lying near on the left-hand side of the road. The Kuch Kit canal, east of it, runs from the left hand to the right. From thence a quarter kuroh to the east is Abá-zaey, a small village on the left hand, close to the road. One kuroh and a half to the east, inclining south-east, is Fátimah Khel, the name by which several small villages of that section of the Afghán tribe of Shítak are known. The Kuch Kit canal lies near by on the left-hand side of the road, from which, having made a cut, the Fátimah Khel irrigate the lands belonging to them. On the road you pass a large dry channel (of another canal?).

"Leaving Fátimah Khel, and proceeding a quarter kuroh east, there is another large canal, which is exceedingly deep, but containing little water, and here they have erected water-mills. The water in this canal comes from the left and flows towards the right. East of the canal just mentioned lies the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, a large town, and the seat of government of this country.

"The right-hand route from the village of Bará Khel, otherwise Idir Khel, previously referred to, is as follows:—Leaving that village and proceeding one kuroh and a half south, keeping along in the dry bed of a river, and then half a kuroh in the same direction, ascending the acclivity of a mountain, you reach Ghurghura'í, a halting place of the Wazírí tribe, where there are several large trees. It is said that, in ancient times, there was a great city here; and a deep well, which is among the indications of antiquity, still remains on the right hand. Tradition asserts that a treasure hoard from ancient times is buried therein, and preserved from the use of man, and that, at times, awful noises emanate therefrom.

"This small tract, which is two kuroh in length from east to west, and about one kuroh in breadth, is called by the names Dær and Jzinda'h. On the east side of the Ghurghura'í halting place a small stream comes from the right hand and runs to the left into the Tonchí.

"Leaving the river, and proceeding two kuroh to the south-east and east, and passing through a small defile, you reach the Kewá river.‡ It contains water enough to turn ten or twelve mills, and comes from the right hand, from the mountain range of Kární-Gram§—the Stone-Town, the first word, *kární*, being 'stone' in Pus'hto, and the last is clearly derived from the Sanskrit, *grám*,—and, running into the Marwat district, obtains the name of Gamílá, sometimes written Gambílá, and Ganbílá.

"From the point above mentioned on the Kewá river, Kární-Gram lies three stages to the south, but the road thither is exceedingly rough and difficult.

"From the same point on the Kewá river one kuroh east is Sin,‖ the name of a

* This is "Ucha" of the maps. The word may also be written Rúchah.

† Since this account was written, some ninety years since, the names of places have greatly changed in the Bannú district. The Sikh rule probably has had something to do with it, as well as other political changes.

‡ This river has no name assigned to it in our maps, unless "Khisora Algud" stands for it.

§ The name of this place also shows the necessity that exists for having names of places correctly written. Mr. Elphinstone, who is generally more correct than any other writer, calls it "Kannegoorrum;" Sir H. B. Edwards writes of the "snowy Kanagoram;" Colonel J. T. Walker calls the place "Kaneegoorum;" Mr. Clements Markham, "Kaniguram," and the maps, "Kanigoorum, Kanigoram," etc.

‖ This word also occurs in the name of the great kotal mentioned at page 80. In the map this name is turned into "Seyn."

small area, on the left hand, on the farther side of the river. Sin is the name of a Wazírí notable, or holy man, whose corpse was found buried there, on an acclivity of the hills, on the north side of this open space.

"From Sin half a kuroh north-east is Mámak, the name given to another space of open ground, on the right-hand side of the river, while on the left is another open space named Tang, and a little to the east of it is the Tangí-i-Kewá, or Kewá defile, where the Kewá river issues from the difficult mountain range.

"It must be borne in mind that as it is not the custom of the Wazírí Afgháns to live a settled life and dwell in houses, but to roam about as íláts or nomads, they cultivate only such small plots of land as can easily be brought under tillage. As there is excess of mountains in their country, and but little land capable of cultivation, almost every plot is called by the name of the clan or family who till it, and by those names such plots are known. The writer himself saw between Spín Won and Mámak, within the area of one kuroh merely, nearly fifty such plots of land, each of which was known by a separate name.

"From thence half a kuroh east is Spín Won,* the name of another of those areas of open ground, lying on either side of the Kewá river. Half a kuroh farther east is Kewá, the name of a halting place (of the Wazírís) on the Kewá river. Up to this point you proceed along by the river, and here the great mountain range terminates.

"Leaving Spín Won and proceeding one kuroh to the north-east you reach the Kabristán-i-Mírí, or Mírí Graveyard, a place where there are some large tombs, which graveyard lies near by on the left-hand side of the way.† From thence continuing two and a half kuroh north-east, inclining east, you reach the dry bed of the Tonchí river, which channel coming from the left hand runs towards the right and joins the bed of the Kewá river. Proceeding onwards another half a kuroh in the same direction, you reach Barak-zí (mentioned before on the preceding page), the name of a cluster of three or four villages belonging to the Mírís. The other villages of the Mírís, also previously mentioned, lie one kuroh and a half on the left-hand side.

"From Barak-zí four kuroh north, inclining north-east, is Dá'úd Sháh before mentioned (preceding page), and the village of Kot-kaey lies on the left hand. From Dá'úd Sháh to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán the route has been already described.

"On the way, by this right-hand route, there is but a scanty population, and little cultivation, and the Shítak tribe and the Wazírís infest the road."

Sixth Route. From Kábul to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán by way of Khost and Dawaṛ, which is one hundred and fifty kuroh, and consists of four different roads.

"*First road*, from Segí to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán by way of Dawaṛ.

"From Kábul to Segí, the chief place in the Dara'h of Khost, the route has been previously detailed, commencing at page 74.

"Having proceeded from Segí half a kuroh south, you reach the bed of a mountain torrent, or dry bed of a river, called Lalíjá, which comes from the right hand (west), from the mountain tract of Chittí, so called from being the place of residence of (a portion of) the Tárarn tribe.‡ It runs away to the left hand and joins the Shamal river. The village of Sherak, which also belongs to the Tárarns, shows itself at a distance of two kuroh on the right-hand side.

"From the said dry bed of the river Lalíjá three kuroh east is Zirka'h,§ the name of one of those plots of land belonging to the Wazírí tribe. From Segí to this point the country is tolerably level, and the mountain ranges on the left and right lie at some distance. One kuroh and a half south of this plot of land you enter a dara'h of the mountains, and there is a small defile or pass which you cross, and from thence, having proceeded a little to the south, you reach the bed of another mountain torrent, which is styled the Indirka'h. It comes from the right, and, running to the left, joins the river called Mughal M'lá,‖ which enters the Shamal.

"Proceeding from the bed of the Indirka'h half a kuroh south, and entering the bed of the Mughal M'lá, you ascend, on the right hand, the acclivity of a mountain range, and

* Perhaps the name was originally *wand*, signifying in Pus'hto an allotment, share, division, plot of land.

† "Tomb of Hassen Shah" of the map. "Hassen" is an impossible name, but Hasan is not, neither is Husain.

‡ *See* page 75.

§ In one copy of the original Dirka'h.

‖ M'lá, in Pus'hto, signifies "the waist," "the loins." The writer does not mean to say that the river's name is Mughal M'lá, but that it is the river of the defile called Mughal M'lá.

each a small defile, but it is difficult to cross. This river and defile they style Mughal M'lá, for this reason. They say that (a force from) the army of Nádir Sháh, the Afshár Turk-mán, when he invaded the empire of Dilhí, came into this mountain country to chastise the Afgháns, and, at this place, encountered the Wazírí tribe, and retired.* From that day forth it obtained the name of Mughal M'lá. The river comes from the southward, and, running towards the north, meets the Indirka'h, and afterwards joins the Shamal river.

"Descending the Mughal M'lá defile on the south-west side you enter Gurbuz, the name of an open plain of some extent, which is a resort of a section of the Wazírí tribe of that name, who at times take up their quarters there. From thence half a kuroh south is the Tirkhú or Tirkho, the bed of a mountain torrent, which comes from the left and runs towards the right. The Wazírí íláts are in the habit of grazing their cattle in the neighbourhood of this river.

"From thence one kuroh south-east is Ghema'h or Ghíma'h Kirá, a small defile, but difficult to pass. The rocks there are black and stratified, which, on being fused, give forth iron. In the same way, in these mountains, there are whole hills of the same description, which, by fusion, would yield iron.

"Four kuroh south-east from Ghema'h Kirá is the bed of a mountain torrent called the Kární-gur. It comes from the left, and runs towards the right hand, and near and about it the ílát or nomad Wazírís dwell. One kuroh south from thence you enter a gorge in the mountains, and, proceeding two kuroh farther to the south-east and south, descending and ascending, you reach a spring of water, which lies on the left hand.

"At this point two roads branch off; the left-hand one leads to Drap Khel, previously mentioned (*see* page 87). You take the right-hand road from the said spring, and, after proceeding one kuroh to the south-west, and, after that, half a kuroh to the south-east and south, another half a kuroh towards the south is the large Kalaey or village of Ahmad Khán, at the foot of the mountains, on the river of Dawaṛ—the Tonchí. From this place the route to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, has been previously given (page 85, and *see* pages 86 and 87).

"*Second road*, from Segí in Khost to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán by way of Buland Khel.

"Starting from Segí, and proceeding two kuroh to the east, you reach Ghazní, a small village on the bank of the Shamal river; and from thence another two kuroh, still farther east, is the large village of Lakhan, the river being still on the left-hand side, which, running towards the north for a distance of three kuroh, joins the river of Bakr Khel (or is joined by it), and then the Shamal makes a bend back again to the south-east.

"From Lakhan four kuroh, on the bank of the same river, is Aran, another large village; and on the way thither are many ascents and descents. Four kuroh south-east from thence are several villages belonging to the Afgháns of Khost, named Landar;† and from this point the territory of Khost in this direction terminates. On the other side of the Shamal river, opposite Aran, are several villages known by the general name of Kadam.

"From Landar four kuroh east is Hasan Khel,‡ a place inhabited by Afgháns of Khost, and the Shamal river lies near by, on the left hand.

"Proceeding from Hasan Khel three kuroh north-west you reach the point where the Shamal§ meets the Kurma'h river. From thence six kuroh south is Buland Khel, and

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* No such expedition is specifically mentioned in the different accounts of Nádir's campaign, either by Afghán or Persian writers, but it is not impossible. It might, however, refer to one of Bahádur Sháh's unsuccessful expeditions against them, perhaps that mentioned at page 84, or the one mentioned below.

† The Landar Afgháns are mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh.

‡ Afzal Khán, Khatak, says that Mubáriz Khán, Gakhar, the Fouj-dár of Bannú, had gone from Bannú into Dawaṛ by the Hasan Tangaey (defile). Afzal Khán himself had gone into Tí-ráh, and from thence home to Saráe in the Khatak country. There he heard that Bahádur Sháh had marched towards Kábul from Khost by the Shawák route. The Afgháns of Shawák (Elphinstone's "Sahauk," possibly), however, had occupied the dara'h and ghás'haey or pass; and after a month's fighting, off and on, and in attempts to dislodge them, suffering much loss from their constant attacks upon his camp, the Prince had to turn aside and go through the pass leading to Ghaznín, not being able to proceed towards Kábul by that route, and had to proceed thither by the roundabout way of Ghaznín, where a Fouj-dár was located. Ghaznín was under the Súbah-dár of the Kábul province, and never had a separate government, as some "master of Indian history" tells us.

After reaching Kábul, Bahádur Sháh again moved from thence in the beginning of winter for Pes'háwar, where the Súbah-dárs of Kábul generally passed the cold season. At Kábul-i-Khúrd he encountered a fall of snow, and lost a number of men and animals. He succeeded in reaching Jalál-ábád, and passed the remainder of the winter there.

§ This river is called the "Shamil, in Sheet 5 of the Indian Atlas, but in Sheet 15 it is styled the "Kittee."

the road follows the course of the river. From Buland Khel to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán the road has already been described.

"*Third road*, from Segí to Urgún; and this road leads to Ghaznín.

"Ten kuroh west of Segí is a cluster of villages lying on either side of the Shamal river known by the name of Namárá, inhabited by the Jzadrarn Afgháns (*see* page 76); and on the way thither there is much cultivation, and there are several villages, styled by the general name of Kuwátá or Kuwatá (*see* pages 75 and 76). From thence twelve kuroh south-west is Paras Khel, a place also inhabited by the Jzadrárn clan of the Mangalí tribe. Eight kuroh from thence, in the direction of south-west, inclining west, is Pus'hta'í, and another six kuroh in the same direction is the considerable Purmúlí Tájzík town of Urgún. The routes from this place to Kábul and to Dawar have been previously given; and by the way are many lofty defiles to pass, over a mountain range towering to the heavens.

"From the Namárá villages ten kuroh west, inclining north-west, is Dera'í-i-Míah Khel, previously mentioned (at page 75); and twelve kuroh north, inclining north-west, is Gardaiz, the road passing as before, through a tract of very mountainous country.

"The route from Gardaiz to Kábul has been already given."

It was in the vicinity of Gardaiz that Bábar Bádsháh, on one occasion, made a raid upon the 'Abd-ur-Rahmán Afgháns.* He says in his Tuzúk that the 'Abd-ur-Rahmán Afgháns dwell on the boundary of the Gardaiz Dara'h, and that instead of paying revenue, they molested the people of kárwáns and other travellers. On Wednesday, the 29th of the month of Rajab, 925 H. (July, 1519, A.D.), he set out from Kábul, and halted to refresh at Bek wo Wughchán.† After afternoon prayer they set out again, but lost their way in the night, and suffered much annoyance and trouble, in consequence, among the hills and dales to the east and south of Pátkháb Shahnah. After a time they got out again upon the road, passed the Kotal of the Chashmah-i-Tarah or Gardaiz Kotal (Chashmah-i-Tarah lies under the Kotal on the north side), and moved towards Gardaiz by the Dara'h of Bákísh Lík, and, at the time of morning prayer, emerged on a plain, and the light troops were sent out. Another party of troops moved towards the Koh-i-Karmásh (or Karmásh range, in some copies written Karmás) which lies south-east of Gardaiz. A strong body also moved towards the east of Gardaiz, towards the upper part of a jal-gáh (a grassy plain containing springs of water, or the upper part of a dara'h where there are springs, is so called), and he despatched others after them, and after they had passed followed himself, as the upper part of the jal-gáh was the greatest distance off. Only about forty or fifty Afgháns showed themselves in the plain, and most of these were killed, and a tower was made of their heads. That portion of the force which went towards Karmásh obtained a little plunder, in the shape of some sheep, and other property, but not much. Bábar set out for Kábul the following day, and, sending the bulk of the force by the regular route (which, unfortunately, is not named, except that the Chashmah-i-Tarah Kotal is again mentioned, where the troops were to wait for him), he determined to proceed himself, slightly attended, by way of the Maidán-i-Rustam,‡ or Rustam's Plain, which is different from the Maidán Dara'h referred to at page 76.

The Bádsháh says that this Maidán lies in the midst of, or between two mountain ranges, near the head or top where they meet, and that it is an exceedingly pleasant and broad jal-gáh. On the south side of the maidán, at the skirt of a detached hill or bluff, there is a spring, around which are several large poplar trees. On the way that leads from the direction of Gardaiz, and comes out upon the Maidán-i-Rustam, there are also some springs, and the trees are numerous, but not very large. Although the jal-gáh on that side is the most contracted, nevertheless, lower down, the trees are exceedingly green and fresh, and the jal-gáh, altogether, is an extremely pleasant *ulang*—the Turkí for a mead or jal-gáh. The exit from this place lies over the mountain range bounding the Maidán-i-Rustam on the south; and from it the Kohistan (hill tract) of Karmásh and the Kohistan of Bangas'h, which are in that direction, lie

* There is more than one tribe, sub-tribe, and clan styled 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, but the one here referred to seems to be the Khogíání sub-tribe of 'Abd-ur-Rahmán. The Khogíánís spring from the same ancestor as the Mangalí tribes.

† These names can scarcely be depended on, and are certainly not to be identified at present. I have used three manuscripts here, as follows:—The Khán-i-Khánán's translation has تنك و عيجان , بارخاب شحنه , and [illegible] respectively; the other Persian version has بيك ووغچان , پاتخاب شحنه , and بايش ليق as above; and the Turkí original, Kázán edition تنك و عچان , پاتخاب شحنه , and باقيش ليق. The translation by Leyden and Erskine has "Tang Waghchân," "Pânjâb Shekhneh, which is Patkhât Shekhneh in the Persian," and "Yakishlik."

‡ Báyazíd, the Byát, distinctly says it is called Maidán-i-Rustam Koh—the maidán of the Rustam mountain range.

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spread out at your feet like a carpet. Bábar says there is no rainy season in this part, and no clouds.

This jal-gáh is probably the source of the Shamal river.

Having rejoined his forces, he set out and reached Honí and halted. Next morning he again marched by way of the dih or village of Muhammad Aghá (or Aká, both forms are right), and reached Kábul on Sunday, the 3rd of Shabán.

He says nothing of having crossed any river, and therefore, it is evident that the Logar was not crossed, and that his route was quite to the east of that river.

One of Humáyún Bádsháh's expeditions into these parts throws much light upon this expedition of his father, and contains much valuable geographical information, which is nowhere else to be found except in Báyazíd's work.* It took place during Humáyún's residence in his territories west of the Indus, before his restoration to the throne of Hindústán. Báyazíd's account is as follows :—

" The Bádsháh again set out towards Hind in 959 H. (1552, A.D), from Kábul. On reaching Pánká and Shahnah, belonging to the tomán or district of Logar, he encamped there. A body of troops was despatched in advance by way of the Gardaiz Kotal for Naghar, the same place as is mentioned in the Tímúr Náma'h. When the troops arrived there they found a vast quantity of provisions abandoned by the 'Abd-ur-Rahmán clan of Afgháns; and they, and the Wardag tribe, and Búbú Khel, and others who resided in the vicinity, fled with their families towards Buland Khel.

" Without halting at Naghar, the force pushed on towards Buland Khel. Early in the forenoon of that day the Sardár of the 'Abd-ur-Rahmán Afgháns made a stand with his fighting men in the Kotal which is called Atáwah, which lies at the head of (the road leading to) Bangas'h, Naghar, Dawar, and Sunbala'h; and Báyazíd, the 3yát, was present. The Mughals did not obtain any booty, although the Afgháns were epulsed.

" The Darsamand people knew nothing of what was going on, and therefore it was etermined to beat up their quarters. Setting out at the time of afternoon prayer 'om near Buland Khel, they reached the dara'h of Darsamand† at dawn the next iorning. The people had, however, got wind of the affair, and were found collected om all parts around, and posted on the hills and on their skirts. They received the ivading party with shouts of defiance.

" Darsamand is so situated that on one side of it is Tí-ráh, on another Bangas'h, and on iother Dawar, Sunbala'h, and Dín-kot."

The Afgháns, on this occasion, were defeated, partially driven back, and some ttle, flocks, and other property taken. It is not said that Darsamand was actually ptured, but it is to be presumed that the people had evacuated it beforehand.

The Mughal troops continued in this part for three days, when the rest of the vance force, previously alluded to, joined them. "The feudatory or governor of Nangrahár prepared to set out in order to join the royal forces by way of Tí-ráh; and the Sháh,‡ Abú-l-Ma'álí, who commanded the advance troops, hearing that the Bádsháh had reached Bútak-zí-i-Pá'ín (perhaps Búbak-zí—the words are without the diacritical points),§ which is a village of Lower Bangas'h, and had halted there, set out with his force to join the Bádsháh, and the feudatory of Nangrahár accompanied him. At this place (Bútak-zí-i-Pá'ín) the Khwájah, Jalál-ud-Din, Mahmúd, vas appointed governor of Kábul, and was despatched thither to assume his duties. Báyazíd, the Byát, accompanied him. Having set out, they reached, at the time of ıfternoon prayer, the kot, or fortlet, of Matah-i-Zakhmí, or Matah the Wounded, so called from a legend that the Khalífah, 'Alí, struck with his famous sword, Zú-l-akár, an infidel named Matah at this spot. It lies on the west frontier of Upper Bangas'h."

Báyazíd also says :—" We proceeded from thence by the Dara'h of Irí-áb, and reached he fort of Safed Gáh, a dependency of Gardaiz, and from thence pushed on to Chash-

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The history by Báyazíd, the Byát Mughal, has never been translated, and moreover it is very rare (I know of one copy of it). The other historical extracts contained in these " notes " are from original manuscript ks, not from any translations.

Báyazíd may be considered a very good and trustworthy authority. He had been long in Humáyún's service, his brother, Sháh Bardí Beg, had held the government of Gardaiz, Naghar, and Bangas'h under Mírzá nrán, Humáyún's ingrate brother.

This appears as "Upper Meeranzai" in our maps and in official reports, but that is not really correct, and name is simply the name of the sub-tribe of Mírán-zí, which will be noticed hereafter. Had it been ed " the dara'h of the Mírán-zís," it would have been more correct, for they dwell in it.

Sháh, as well as Bádsháh, is a title by which Sayyids are styled, not to be mistaken as indicating the session of sovereign power, which has caused some ridiculous errors.

Possibly Búg-zí, meant for Bug-zí, mentioned at page 84, the Boghzi of our maps.

" mah-i-Tarah, which lies under or below the Kotal of Gardaiz (the same as Bábar, " Humáyún's father, mentions) on the Kábul side."

From this place Báyazíd was sent on, in advance, to Kábul, but he does not say by what road, so we must presume it was the ordinary one. In the meantime the Khwájah, Jalál-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, moved into the Lághrí Hazárah tomán or district, which lies between Wardag and the Maidán of Rustam Koh (this is the same place as is mentioned by Bábar), and returned, after a successful expedition, to Kábul.

" Humáyún Bádsháh did not proceed farther into Hind during this year, 959 H. (1551, A.D.), than the Sind-Ságar Do-ába'h; and returned from thence, crossing the Sind or Indus between the manára'h of Khán Kajú*, now known as Prata'h Manára'h, or the Fallen Manár, and the mountains of Buner."

" *Fourth road*, from Buland Khel to Maidán; and this road likewise goes on to Ghaznín.

" The road from Buland Khel to Kadam has been previously given (at page 90). From thence 15 kuroh north-west is Bakr Khel (*see* page 75); and by the way, along the bank of the Bakr Khel river, you pass many villages and much cultivation. The route from Bakr Khel to the Maidán villages and dara'h, and thence to Kábul, has been already detailed (at page 77, which see)."

Seventh Route. *From Kábul to Kohát by way of Kurma'h, one hundred and ten kuroh east; and this route leads into Dera'h-ját and Hind.*

" The route from Kábul to Údzí Khel has been already described (at page 80. *See* also page 77). From thence proceeding twelve kuroh to the east, and passing numerous villages by the way, on the left-hand bank of the Kurma'h river, is Sada'h,† the seat of government of the Kurma'h province. A small river comes fron the north-east, and passing immediately north of Sada'h, joins the Kurma'h river. Twelve kuroh farther east is the large village of Zúmus'ht, or Zúmuk'ht (by eastern Afgháns), so named after a clan of the Afgháns of the Bálá Bangas'h; and by the way are several high defiles and lofty mountains towering to the heavens.

" From thence ten kuroh farther east is Turáwarí, a considerable place; and from thence another three kuroh, in the same direction, is the large village of Nara'í Aoba'h,‡ signifying, in Pus'hto, the narrow or slender stream, the name of a little river so called, giving name to the village. Another twelve kuroh east, inclining north, is Angú, also called Hangú,§ another large place. It is a small town with numerous orchards and fruit gardens, lying in a recess of the hills, and has a small stone fort. The lands around are well watered. It contains about 1,500 inhabitants. West of it is a white tomb, which can be seen from a great distance. Ten kuroh farther east is Kákh-zí, also called Kágh-zi,‖ a large village and small dara'h called after a section of one of the Bangas'h tribes;¶ and, from the Tí-ráh mountains, a small river flows through the dara'h, and runs on towards Kohát.

" Three kuroh east from thence is the town of Kohát, the place of residence of the Nawwáb, the Khán of Bangas'h, and seat of government of the district.

" From Údzí Khel to Angú the road to this place lies through a succession of dara'hs and beds of small streams. On the left hand towers the great range of Spín Ghar, covered with perpetual snow, and on the right hand likewise are great mountain ranges. The cold in these parts is very great, and the defiles are much elevated.

" The territory of Bálá or Upper Bangas'h ends at Angú, and here you enter Pá'ín or Lower Bangas'h, in which Kohát lies."

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* This is the famous Chief of all the Yúsufzí tribe, both Yúsuf and Mandar, the Chief of the 100,000 spearmen. In Pus'hto *one* is written *yow*, and this was read by Elphinstone for *nau*, which is *nine* in Hindí. and so he made out that "the whole numbers of the Eusof-zyes are reckoned by the Afghauns at 900,000." "Caubul," vol. ii., page 32. State Councillor Von Dorn, in his translation of Ni'mat Ullah's History, followed him, but the original is یکه This is how errors are handed down.

† Turned into "Suddur" in the maps. I may mention here, once for all, that words like this ending in ه (*há-i-hawwaz*) were, by command of Aurangzeb-i'-Alam-gír, directed to be written with ا (*alif*) instead, hence the apparent discrepancy in Sada'h and Sadá, Dhákah and Dháká, Nímla'h and Nímlá.

‡ "Nuriab" and "Nariol," in the maps and official reports.

§ "Hungoo" in the maps.

‖ Now "Samilzi," according to the maps. The names of places, as well as the people who inhabit them, are different now, or the names have been greatly changed. The correct name is Shámil-zí, not "Samil-zi," and is the designation of one of the sub-tribes of the Bangas'h tribe of Kohát.

¶ The Kágh-zí clan are descended from a daughter of Malik Mír, son of Sulímán, son of Kakí. Sulímán was the progenitor of the Wazírís, Bá-í-zís, Malik Mírís, and others, who are styled the tribes of Bangas'h.

Eighth Route. From Kábul to Kohát by way of the Kohistán or Highlands of Tí-ráh, a distance of one hundred kuroh. This route is very difficult.*

"From Kábul to Bhatí-Kot the route has been previously given (page 48). From thence six kuroh south-east is Bísh-Bulák† or Bulágh, two Turkí words signifying five springs of water; and in that language *k* is often changed into *gh*, and *vice versâ*. From this point two roads diverge. The right-hand road is as follows:—From Bísh Bulák eighteen kuroh east is the Kalaey or village of Shafí' Khán, one of the large villages in the Dara'h of Tí-ráh, belonging to the Afrídí Afgháns. On the way thither the towering mountain range of Spín Ghar or, as it is also called, the Tí-ráh range, covered with perpetual snow, has to be crossed; and you have to pass through lofty defiles, the sides of which are well wooded with forests of oak, wild olive, ilex, and other trees. One great mountain, higher than the rest in this direction, lies near by on the right-hand side of the route, which, from the excess of snow thereon, looks clearer and whiter than crystal.‡

"From thence Kákh-zí or Kágh-zí is twenty kuroh south-east, inclining east. The road from thence to Kohát has been previously mentioned."

By this route, although so difficult, the Khaibar can be turned from the south.

"Between the Kalaey of Shafí Khán and Kákh-zí or Kágh-zi is another (branch of this) mountain range, also covered with perpetual snow; and some water flows from it towards that small dara'h, but such water as falls down towards the Kalaey of Shafí' Khán forms the river, which, having passed Yalam Guzr,§ receives the name of Bárah, and its water having been drawn off by means of canals it is expended in the irrigation of part of the western portion of the Pes'háwar district.

"There is a route from Pes'háwar to this place, which is as follows. From the city of Pes'háwar eight kuroh south-west is Yalam Guzr, the name of a small village called after the ford just named, belonging to the Afrídís. On the way you pass through vast cultivation; and the Bárah river, coming from the Tí-ráh mountains, flows to the east of the village, and is expended in irrigating the rice fields and gardens of Pes'háwar, and cultivated lands of Mataní. The best description of rice, which is famous, is produced by the water of this river. Jam-rúd lies from this place four kuroh on the right hand.

"Proceeding along the course of the river into a dara'h in the mountains for a distance of four kuroh south-west, you reach the small village of Gand-áb, also belonging to the Afrídís, and from thence six kuroh west is the large Kalaey or village of Shafí' Khán. You follow, as before, the course of the stream, and have high mountains near by both on the right and left hand. The Koh-i-Tí-ráh—the Tí-ráh range or Spín Ghar—covered with perpetual snow, lies adjoining on the south and west.

"It may be well to give here a brief notice of the Afrídís, Wurakzís, and Shinwárís inhabiting these parts.

Afrídí.

"This is the name of a large and valiant tribe descended from Mánaey, son of Kodaey, son of Karlárnaey, and it numbers near upon 40,000 families. They dwell on the east and north of the mountain tract of country, lying in a cold climate, part of which is situated south of Pes'háwar, and some part to the west of it. Some live in permanent dwellings, but others lead the life of íláts or nomads. The western portion of their territory is called Tí-ráh, which is a large Dara'h, and exceedingly cold in winter. It is about thirty-two kuroh long and nearly twelve broad.

"Another portion of the Afrídís dwell as íláts or nomads, in the Dara'h of Khaibar (which perhaps leads some people to imagine, because they see no houses, that the "Khyberies," as they call them, "live in caves like savages"), and they hold a jágír or grant from the Bádsháh of Kábul for guarding a portion of the route. They have

* This might, with more propriety, be called the route from Bísh-Bulák to Kohát.
† Turned into "Peshbolak," in maps and Gazetteers.
‡ This is the Spín Ghar, or White Mountain, giving name to the range.
§ This is sometimes written 'Alam Guzr.

consequently neither tax nor tribute to pay. Their knives and swords are remarkable for the keen edge they take.*

Wurakzí or Urakzí.

"This Afghán tribe contains some thousands of families, and they dwell in the mountain tracts of Tí-ráh, the Khaibar, and Jalál-ábád. They have to furnish a contingent of soldiers to the Bádsháh of Kábul, and their Sardárs hold jágírs or fiefs in the Pes'háwar district for guarding and keeping open the passes within their boundaries."†

In the reign of Akbar Bádsháh the Wurakzís, or Urakzís, as they are also styled, were included in the tomán of Kohát, and are estimated as being able to furnish 300 horsemen and 5,000 foot for militia purposes.

Shinwárí.

"This tribe numbers about 12,000 families, and they dwell to the west of the Khaibar Dara'h, and in the mountains south of the Nangrahár Dara'hs, called Shíwí (*see* page 52), as íláts or nomads. Some 3,000 or 4,000 families dwell in fixed habitations, in villages, in the Dara'h of Shigal, a dependency of Kúnar. The nomad portion, who roam about the hills bounding Nangrahár to the south (south of the Bísh-Bulák), have to furnish a contingent to the army of the Bádsháh, but those dwelling on the northern side of the Kábul river pay obedience to the Sayyids of Kúnar.

"The Shinwárís are famed as being a very valiant tribe, and, in alliance with the Afrídís, gave infinite trouble to the Mughal rulers of Dilhí in former times. They are bounded on the west by the Khogíánís.

"The Tí-ráh range of mountains, also called Spín Ghar, extending from near Kohát to Irí-áb, is nearly eighty kuroh in length, and on its summits snow constantly falls. Out of this range four rivers flow,—the Surkh Rúd, so called from the colour of the earth with which it is impregnated, which, passing through the Gandamak district, a few miles west of Jalál-ábád, joins the river of Kábul; the Kurma'h, already described, which runs through the districts of Irí-áb, Kurma'h, Bannú, and Laka'í, and joins the Sind or Indus; the small river, which issues from the dara'h of the Kágh-zí, runs through Kohát and Shádí Khel, and also joins the Sind, and is known as the Kohát To-e (from the Pus'hto intransitive verb, *to-yedal*, to flow, to well, to glide along, etc.); and the Bárah, which rises a little farther north, and issues from the mountains near the village called Yalam Guzr, from the ford near by, and is expended by means of canals in the irrigation of a portion of the Pes'háwar district.

"The left-hand road is called the Tahtarah, and Tatarah route, and leads to Jam-rúd and Pes'háwar; and some say this was the route by which Nádir Sháh, the Afshár, sent a force and surprised the Nawwáb, Násir Khán (*see* page 37), who, having closed the Khaibar route, had taken post at Jam-rúd. It is also called the Báz Dara'h—the Falcon Dara'h—route.

Ninth Route. From Kábul to Jalál-ábád, by way of the Áb-i-Zindagání (Water of Existence, or River of Life).

"Leaving the Láhor gate of the city of Kábul you proceed to But-Khák, an account of which, and the road from thence to Kábul, has been given (at page 60). On the way thither, the villages of Kala'-chah, Shewah, the Dih-i-Ya'kúb, Gamrí, and other

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* The Afrídís and the Wurakzís were not considered very orthodox in former days, and were followers of the Pír-i-Tárík, or Saint of Darkness, the nickname given by the Akhúnd, Darwezah, to Báyazíd, Ansárí, the arch-heretic previously alluded to, who assumed the name of Pír-i-Ros'hán, or Saint of Light.

Khushhál Khán, Khatak, says of these two tribes in one of his poems :—

"The call of the mu'azzin is not to be heard throughout Tí-ráh,
Unless thou listen to the crowing of the cock, at the dawn of day.
As to the Wurakzís, they are altogether from orthodoxy astray;
And the Afrídís, than those heretical ones, are more heretical still.
They neither say prayers over the dead, nor ministers have they;
Nor alms, nor offerings, nor the fear of God within their hearts," etc., etc.

(*See* my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 212.)

† Surgeon-Major Bellew, in his last new book, "Afghanistan and its People," states that the "Arakzai," as he styles them, are "Afridis." They are a totally distinct tribe. The Wurakzís are descended from Kodaey, son of Karlárnaey, and the Afrídís from Mánaey, son of Kodaey.

villages of the Dáman-i-Koh, or Hill Skirt (east of Kábul), and famous for the fruitfulness of their lands, appear in the distance on the right hand.

" At But-Khák two roads diverge. The left-hand road leads to the Latah Band pass, previously mentioned (at page 60), and the river of Kábul lies on the left.

" The right-hand road is this. From But-Khák, three kuroh south-east, is Kábul-i-Khúrd—Little or Lesser Kábul—a large village of the Tájzíks, situated in a dara'h, or valley, between the mountains, and from which a direct route leads into the Logar tomán.

" From Kábul-i-Khúrd eighteen kuroh east, inclining south-east, is the Kalaey or village of Muhammad Amín Khán, a place inhabited by Ghalzís; and you pass through a very mountainous tract in which, by the way, there are deep ravines and gorges, and lofty mountains, some covered with pine forests. For the first half of the way you proceed along in the bed of the Tezín river (*see* page 60), and hereabouts the Ghalzí tribe dwell after the manner of íláts or nomads.

" Fourteen kuroh from the Kalaey of Muhammad Amín Khán are several villages belonging to the same tribe, and styled by the general name of Hisárak,* signifying, in Persian, the little hisár or fort,† the final *k* being used to express contempt or to form diminutives.

" At this important point a road, on the left hand, comes from the direction of Karkachá, or Karkacha'h,‡ and Jagdálík; and another, on the right hand, from the side of the Dara'h of Irí-áb, and they meet here. There is also a road from Hisárak to the bridge over the Surkh Rúd, or Red River. (*See* page 56.)

" From Hisárak, three kuroh in the direction of east, are several villages lying on either side of the Surkh Rúd, or Red River, which comes from the right hand (the southwards). Proceeding along that river for a kuroh and a half you reach some other villages known as Hisárak-i-Sháhí (the Sháh's, or the Royal Hisárak), situated on either side of the Surkh Rúd, and inhabited by the Mahmad (Mandú ?) section of the Khogíání tribe of Afgháns. The above-mentioned river runs to the left hand, and enters an exceedingly difficult mountain tract.

Proceeding another kuroh and a half, almost in the same direction, you reach some two or three more villages belonging to the same tribe, and known as Ashpán—(this is how a non-Afghán would write Shpán§—the correct name of the place; it is a word which foreigners, Persians or Hindís, cannot pronounce without the aid of an initial vowel),|| and in the route are many deep gorges. Through this dara'h likewise a stream falls from the mountain range to the right, and flows on towards Gandamak.¶

" From Ashpán (Shpán) another kuroh and a half, still in the same direction, is another cluster of villages, on the river just named, called Tútú, and the village of Gandamak lies three kuroh distant on the left hand. From these villages there is a way to the bridge over the Surkh Rúd (mentioned at page 56), which is about three kuroh distant, and in going thither some *smats* or caves are passed.

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* Mentioned previously, at page 56, and note †, page 82.

† This name is incorrectly spelt "Izharuk" in the Indian Atlas map, and in several others; indeed, not only is this and many other names spelt after the same fashion, but the course of rivers and the position of mountains in this direction are, for the most part therein, purely imaginary. The Surkh Rúd, in particular, has been incorrectly laid down from its source downwards, except possibly at the very points crossed by our troops in the first Afghán war.

‡ *See also* page 56.

This is the road taken by Wood, who says, with respect to surveying the route by the Karkacha'h pass:—"That of the Karkatcha, the highest and most northerly" (there is an error here in Wood's account, a printer's error probably. He says, at page 107, that the Lattaband is the most "southerly," and the Karkatcha "the most northerly." The reverse is the fact) "was allotted to me. Parting with my companions, I turned "off to the left, and, having passed through the vale of Hisarak, entered the bed of a stream tributary to the "Surkh Rud river. Up this we wound our path to near the summit of Karkatcha. On entering among "the mountains the bed of the stream contracted to a narrow defile not more than ten feet in width, the "sides of which were naked, craggy, and precipitous, while its bottom was encumbered by the trunks of "huge fir trees, and here and there crossed by ledges of rock. On nearing the ridge of the pass, we "quitted the defile and kept to the right, along the face of mountains which here assumes a more open "character."

§ On one occasion, Sháh Shujá'-ul-Mulk was defeated near these villages, on the 10th of September, 1801, by the rebel Bárakzís, who had set up Sháh Mahmúd.

|| There are scores of words of this description in the Pus'hto language, which a Hindí cannot pronounce correctly.

¶ This is the Áb-i-Zindagání. Masson, in his journeys, on one occasion, crossed over from the high road between Nímla'h and Jagdálík on his way by the Karkacha'h Kotal to this stream. He came to a place (vol. i., page 184) where there was a mill, a dwelling, and the tents of some nomads, and to this applied the name of the river which he turned into "Hávízângâní." This is a fair specimen of the manner in which names get altered by persons who have a mere colloquial smattering of a language.

"Two kuroh from Tútú, in the direction of north-east, is Nímla'h, a large village belonging to the Tájzíks.* From this place to Jalál-ábád, by way of Fath-ábád, the road has been already described (page 53).

"From Kábul to Jalál-ábád, the route which has just been detailed, is very difficult, and the air and wind cold and piercing. Even in the hottest part of summer a fire is required at night."

Tenth Route. From Kábul to Jalál-ábád, by way of the Dara'h of Kaj-hah, or Kaj-há (the plural form of Kaj).†

The route from Kábul to Jagdálík has been already described, and from the latter place to the Kímah Chaukí, and Báwalí Chaukí (page 56).

This Dara'h of Kaj-hah is of considerable extent. Proceeding from the Kímah Chaukí, from which point the kalaey or village of Karkacha'h can be distinguished, situated on the slope of the mountains at some distance on the right hand (south), three kuroh east, is the Báwalí Chaukí, the name of a desolate halting place, and the road thither is like the bed of a river.

From this place, three kuroh east, is a small defile called the Surkh Rúd Kotal, the road continuing the same as before. Here the Surkh Rúd or river issues from the mountains on the right hand, and runs towards the east. One kuroh east of this kotal is the Kaj-i-Bábá, or Bábá's Kaj, the name given to a plot of ground,‡ like those mentioned as being tilled by the Wazírí íláts or nomads (page 89), on a ridge of the mountains. The river lies near by on the right hand.

Another half kuroh farther east is the Kaj-i-Anwar, or Anwar's Kaj, another of these plots of land; and the river runs on the right hand in a depression of the mountains. From thence one kuroh east, inclining south-east, is the Kaj-i-Yúsuf, the name of another piece of land on a slope of the mountains; and half way on the road you cross the Surkh Rúd. Proceeding from thence (Kaj-i-Yúsuf), one kuroh in the same direction, you reach another of these plots, called the Kaj-i-Muhammad Amín, or Muhammad Amín's Kaj. The river runs near by on the left hand. After proceeding from this kaj half a kuroh farther east you reach the small river called the Nauyán§ flowing on the right hand. It comes from the direction of Gandamak, and joins the Surkh Rúd.

Half a kuroh east from thence is Kangḳrak-i-'Ulyá, or Higher Kangḳrak (lit. Most High), the name of a small village; and the river, as before, runs on the left hand. From this place Gandamak is five kuroh distant, and Nímla'h three.

At this point, in particular, you notice plants and shrubs, and vegetation of the warmer climate, and such as are unknown from Jagdálík to Kábul.

There is a road from this place (Kangḳrak-i-'Ulyá) to Bálá-Bágh along the skirt of the narrow valley in which it lies.

From the Surkh Rúd Kotal to the Nauyán river some clans of the Ghalzí tribe are located; and they pay one tenth of the produce (of their flocks and crops ?) as revenue to Tímúr Sháh, Bádsháh of Kábul. From Kangḳrak-i-'Ulyá the villages of the Tájzíks begin again; and the Surkh Rúd, after flowing about nine kuroh farther to the eastward, joins the river of Kábul near the mountain of Darúntha'h. On the northern bank of the river of Kábul, close to the Lamghán mountains, are two villages known by the name of Mastí Khel.

East of Kangḳrak-i-'Ulyá one kuroh is Kangḳrak-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Kangḳrak, a large village also belonging to the Tájzíks. The Surkh Rúd, as before, lies on the left hand. From this village two kuroh east is Bálá-Bágh, literally signifying the Higher or Upper Garden, a large garden, in circuit about one kuroh. It is celebrated for the number of its canals, and the quantity of fruits it produces. Its laying out is attributed to one of the Gurgániah Sultáns. Fath-ábád lies about two kuroh on the right hand from Bálá Bágh.

* In Zí-Ka'dah, the eleventh month, 1109 H. (June, 1698, A.D.), Amír Khán, Súbah-dár of the province of Kábul, that is to say, all the possessions of the Dihlí sovereigns west of the Indus, died at Nímla'h, having held the government for several years. He was the most efficient ruler that had held the government for a very long time previous, and more so than any other who followed. On account of the Afgháns, however, the fact of his death was not made known until his corpse reached Kábul.

† *See* pages 51 and 53.

‡ The term "kaj" is also applied to the strips or plots of land, available for cultivation, lying between the Siyah Koh range and the Kábul river.

§ Previously mentioned at page 56.

From thence six kuroh east is Chhár Bágh-i-Safá, previously referred to at page 53, the route from Jalál-ábád to Kábul. It is a large village of the Tájzíks, and near are four gardens (or, a garden divided into four quarters by walks); hence its ame. A large canal has been cut from the Surkh Rúd, and carried on to Bálá-Bágh and Chhár-Bágh. The confluence of the Surkh Rúd and the river of Kábul lies ather less than two kuroh on the left hand (north). East of the Surkh Rúd is a arge village celebrated for its fruitfulness, called Sabz-ábád (the Verdant Abode).

One kuroh east, inclining north-east, is the Kalaey or village of Madad Khán, which lies near the road on the left-hand side. To the west of the village is a small river called the Rúd-i-Rustam Khán,* which comes from the right hand, and, running to the left, joins the Surkh Rúd.

A little farther to the left is the mazár or tomb of Rustam Khán, a brick mausoleum; and from thence one kuroh and a half is the town of Jalál-ábád.

As previously mentioned at the head of this Section, there are several other very important routes remaining to be described leading from Bázár-i-Ahmad Khán into the Dera'h-ját, and from thence west towards Ghaznín through the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, but as these routes bear no special reference to the parts in which our troops are now operating, I think it will be better to leave them for a subsequent Section, wherein I shall bring these notes to a close at the point at which I commenced them,—at the most northern pass in the Dera'h-i-Ghází Khán district.

The next Section of these notes will describe the routes north of the Khaibar road to Kábul, including the Karappa'h and Tahtarah routes, and various others both from Kábul and Pes'háwar, extending from Káfiristán to the Abáe Sind.

21st March, 1879.

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* Previously mentioned at page 53.

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